"OF LAIRD AND TENANT"

- a study of the social and economic geography of Shetland in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, based on the Garth and Gardie estate manuscripts.

by

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Regulation 2.4.15

DECLARATION

"I declare that the following thesis for the degree of Ph.D., "Of Laird and Tenant", has been entirely composed by myself, after consultation with and assistance from the persons mentioned in the Acknowledgements below."

Jonathan Wills
1 March 1975

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

NAME OF CANDIDATE Jonathan W.G.Wills MA

ADDRESS

DEGREE Ph.D. DATE 1975

TITLE OF THESIS "Of laird and tenant - a study of the social and economic geography of Shetland in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, based on the Garth and Gardie estate manuscripts."

The thesis is based upon a major and hitherto almost unresearched historical manuscript source, the Gardie Papers; it assesses their usefulness to the historian and the historical geographer, compares the evidence from this source with that from the extensive published literature on the Shetland Islands, and analyses data from Gardie that is not available from other sources.

The first (historical) part of the work (chapters 1, 2 and 3) discusses the Garth and Gardie estates in the general context of seventeenth and eighteenth century Shetland, and the role of the Mouat family in the social, economic and political affairs of the time.

The second (thematic) half (chapters 4, 5 and 6) is based on statistical analyses of data from Gardie and elsewhere; it covers a range of topics under the broad headings of 'The Estate and its Produce', 'The Tenants and the Land' and 'Problems of Demography and Labour Supply'.

In detail;

Chapter One looks in depth at the value for research of the various types of manuscript at Gardie House. The accounts, rentals, ledgers and day-books are identified as an important new source of quantitative data; the deeds and maps as a useful though not unique source of changing land ownership and tenure; the miscellaneous correspondence, legal papers, etc, as an invaluable contemporary commentary on the statistical evidence from Gardie and other sources.

Chapter Two is an historical introduction covering the period from 1469 to 1777, tracing the growth of Scottish influence in the islands after their transfer to the Scottish Crown from Denmark. Drawing on a variety of sources, including the published literature, public records and the Gardie Papers, it is suggested that Shetland was treated firstly as a colony and later as a plantation of Scots settlers - mostly rent-farmers and minor landowners. The differing roles of the Hendersons (an old family of Norwegian landowners), and the Mouats (incomers from Scotland) are used to illustrate the social tensions during this period of change, and related to the decline of the indigenous owner-occupier peasant class, the udallers. The progress of Scots feudal land tenure is examined, together with other results of the superimposition of a Scots upon a Norse society - notably the distortion of weights and measures and the export of capital.

The unique trading arrangements of seventeenth century Shetland are then described, and the eighteenth century phasing out of the itinerant German merchants is shown to have been a more protracted and complicated process than has previously been thought. The integration of Shetland into the British trading system after the Treaty of Union is related to the new and plural functions of the Scots settler class - individually as merchants and landowners, collectively as local legislators, judiciary, administrators and as negotiators with the British authorities.

The increase in economic activity in the second half of the eighteenth century (particularly in fishing) is discussed in terms of the varying fortunes of the Mouat and Henderson families, the various attempts by the lairds to start co-operative commercial ventures, and the antagonisms they aroused amongst their rivals and critics. Chapter Two concludes with a brief account of the youth of Thomas Mouat of Belmont, the central personality of the thesis, and explains his position in Shetland at the time when he started to operate as a merchant-laird in 1777 at the age of 29.

Chapter Three deals with the Shetland system of land tenure and estate management, "The Zetland Method", and its development during the period when Thomas Mouat was active as a merchant-laird (1777 - 1819). The social structure of Shetland in the late eighteenth century is explained in detail. The series of controversies, in which the Zetland Method and its exponents came under attack from various quarters and the ministers in particular, is investigated as a useful source of contemporary pamphleteers' comments. Thomas Mouat's dominant role as chief apologist for the laird-merchant class is established from a study of his papers; the sole substantiated instance of organised popular resistance by the tenants is revealed in detail ("The Uyea Whale Case").

There is also discussion of the reaction of both critics and tenants to the lairds' efforts to modify the system, and Chapter Three concludes by drawing attention to two new factors that complicated the situation by the 1820's - the rise of the Lerwick merchants to affluence and influence, and the discovery of valuable minerals in the common lands of Unst island.

Chapter Four shows the significance of family connexions in the evolution of the land-ownership pattern and in the irregular growth of some estates. The rise of Thomas Mouat's personal landed estate is traced in detail, with special emphasis on the differing character and distribution of his lands in Unst, and the fortuitous manner in which he came by the valuable lands of Bressay and Noss.

The financial growth of his estate during the period 1777-1817 is followed in detail, and related to a discussion of the varying production of the several commodities in which Mouat traded - based entirely on data extracted from his rentals, ledgers and notebooks. There follows a postscript on two related problems - the storage of produce and the subversion of "The Zetland Method" by illicit sale of produce to the "yaugers", i.e. pedlars, chapmen and forestallers.

Chapter Five probes the origins of the system whereby most farmers were obliged to fish to their lairds; it is suggested that "fishing tenure" developed slowly and was formalised relatively late. The various kinds of leases are examined and it is surmised that eviction by legal summons was used more often as a threat than a reality, depending upon the relative availability of tenants and farms. The various exactions due from the land, and particularly skatt and rent, are explained in detail and it is shown that they were based on ancient valuations that bore little relevance to eighteenth century reality.

Manuscript data on the distribution of farms sizes and untenanted land are used to identify the main fluctuations in land use and are related to recurrent shortages of food, fuel and labour. The attempts at "agricultural improvement" by various members of the Mouat family are examined in some detail. A special study is made of the division of the arable and encloded lands of Norwick, Unst, in 1822; this township is compared with others whose origins and morphology have been studied elsewhere. Other divisions of arable and commonty are discussed as part of the process of "improvement"; factors such as illegal enclosure and mining for minerals are shown to have influenced the progress of division in Unst. William Mouat's programme of "improvements" in Bressay after 1811 is compared with the earlier efforts of his father, his uncle Thomas Mouat, and his own simultaneous activities as an absentee laird in Fife.

Chapter Six presents the data on population change in Unst from 1755 to 1821, particularly a useful and hitherto unknown source in one of Thomas Mouat's notebooks. The surviving parish records and printed sources are used to suggest some trends in birth rate and mortality. The effects of disease, above all of smallpox, are investigated in relation to diet and periodic food shortages - in an attempt to explain the recorded fluctuations in population totals. The demographic and economic effects of recruitment by the Royal Navy and the Greenland whaling ships are shown to have been extremely severe; it is suggested that in the Napoleonic War period the shortage of labour was one of the

the/
factors that precipitated the near disastrous dearths of the first decade of the nineteenth century. Further evidence on labour prices and supply, and how they varied even within Shetland, is examined, and a new chronology of "dearth and distress" is established.

Chapter Seven reminds the reader of the complicated paths of thought and research that have resulted in the present form of this thesis, and after summarising the factual conclusions proceeds to discuss the more philosophical issues presented by the historical geography of Shetland. The argument is centred on the basic problem of the relationship of Shetland's population to the capacity of the local environment to support varying numbers of people. Into the basic equation of population and resources is introduced a more controversial assessment of the defects of the social systems that have evolved in Shetland to control this equation. It is concluded that not only governments, but their rent- and tax-gatherers, the landlords, clergy and merchants, were essentially parasitic upon the working people of Shetland and that few who ~~xxx~~ were able ever did anything about it.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to the many people who have helped in in various ways during the work for this thesis. Alas I can only blame myself for any remaining errors and omissions. I would like particularly to thank the following;

Mr Broome of the Scottish National Register of Archives, who advised me on the handling, care and interpretation of the manuscripts.
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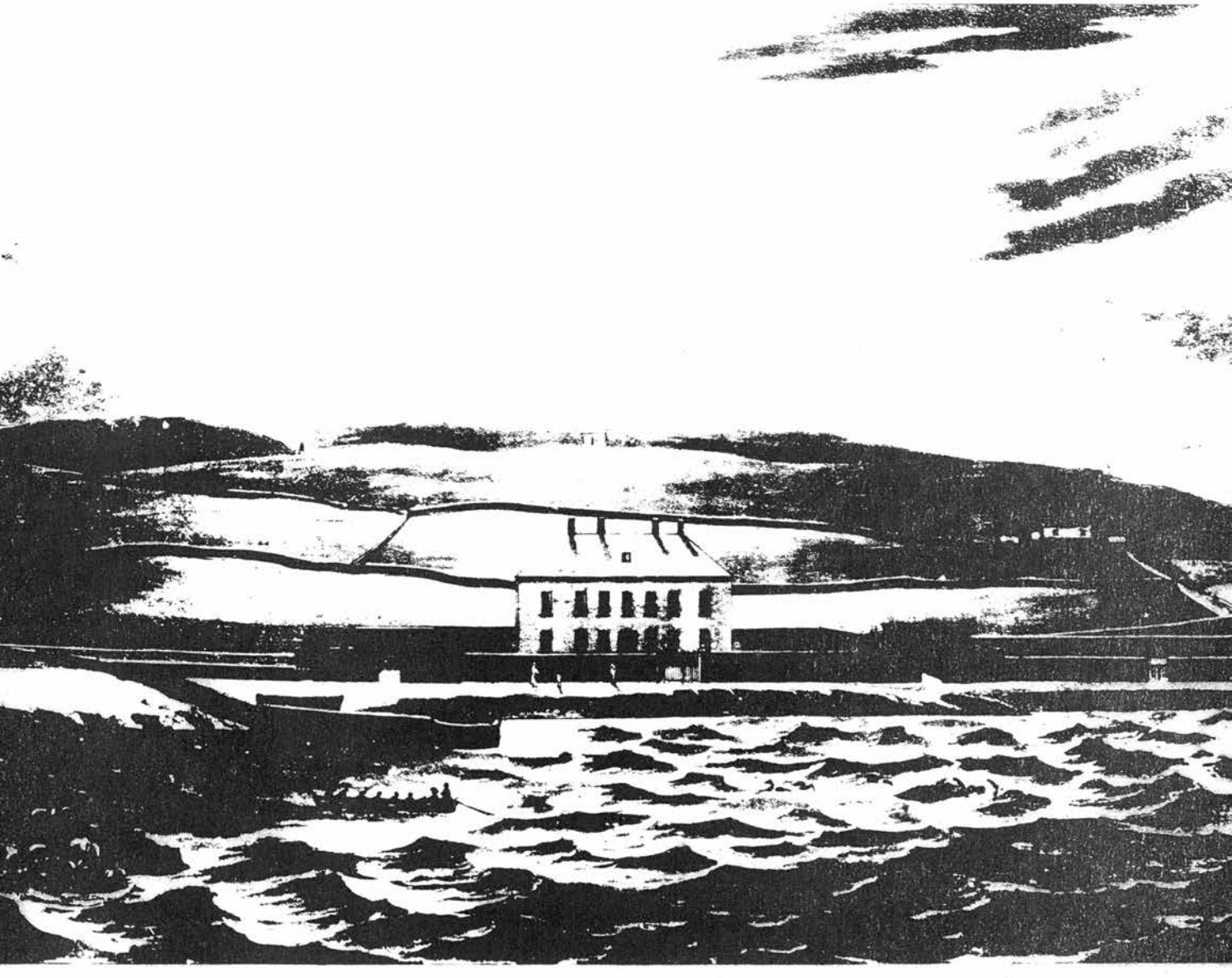
I am further indebted to Mrs Wishart and her daughter-in-law Mrs June Wishart for undertaking the difficult task of typing most of my unruly drafts.

I would also like to thank my family in Shetland who kept to a minimum their comments on people who made a living by eavesdropping on the correspondence of long-dead lairds.
Last but not least, my wife Ruth has put up with my thesis as long as she has known me. For this and much else I thank her.

"Some degree of apology, however, may be made for the torpid state of these islanders; ... it would never answer for these people to be adventurers themselves; they must catch the fish for others, and sell them at a stipulated price, as the Zetland method is."

James Fea
1775



GARDIE HOUSE, BRESSAY, in 1817

(after Ross, 1819)

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Notes on the maps and graphs

The source for the data displayed in map and graph form is usually given in the map or graph text, or in the accompanying prose.

Apart from the hand-drawn figures, most of the maps and graphs were prepared using an IBM 370 computer and a Calcomp graph-plotter at the Edinburgh Regional Computing Centre; data for a total of 48 variables for each of the 122 "rooms" of Unst were abstracted from the Gardie papers, punched on 80-column cards, and subjected to preliminary analysis using the CMS (Choropleth Mapping System) program devised by my colleague Mr. T.C. Waugh of the Department of Computer Science at Edinburgh University. After selection of meaningful data by this relatively simple grid-square method, the maps were then produced in more visually effective form using a recent program developed by Mr. Waugh, G.I.M.M.S. (Geographical Interpretation Matrices Mapping System). The outline for this map was prepared from various written and verbal sources and from extensive fieldwork in Unst and digitised using the facilities of the Architecture Research Unit, Edinburgh University, under the ever-present guidance of Tom Waugh, who also modified his graphing program to suit my requirements.

As I had never previously seen a card-punching machine, let alone a digitiser or a computer, I relied on Tom Waugh to teach me the rudiments of the theory and practice necessary to operate his mapping and graphing programs. I cannot over-emphasise my debt of gratitude to him for his patience, hard work and stimulating criticisms; any errors or inadequacies in the results are my own fault entirely.

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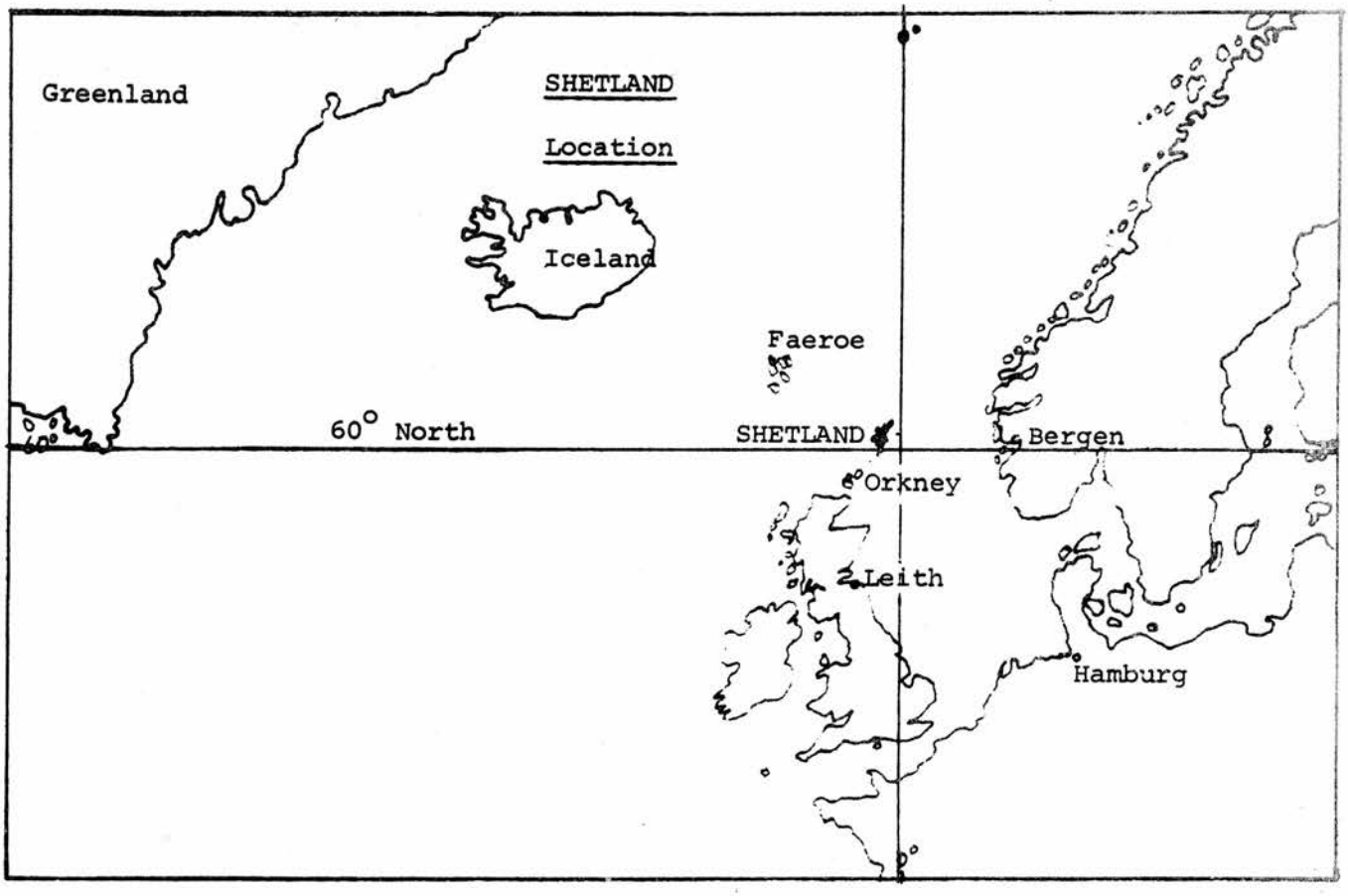
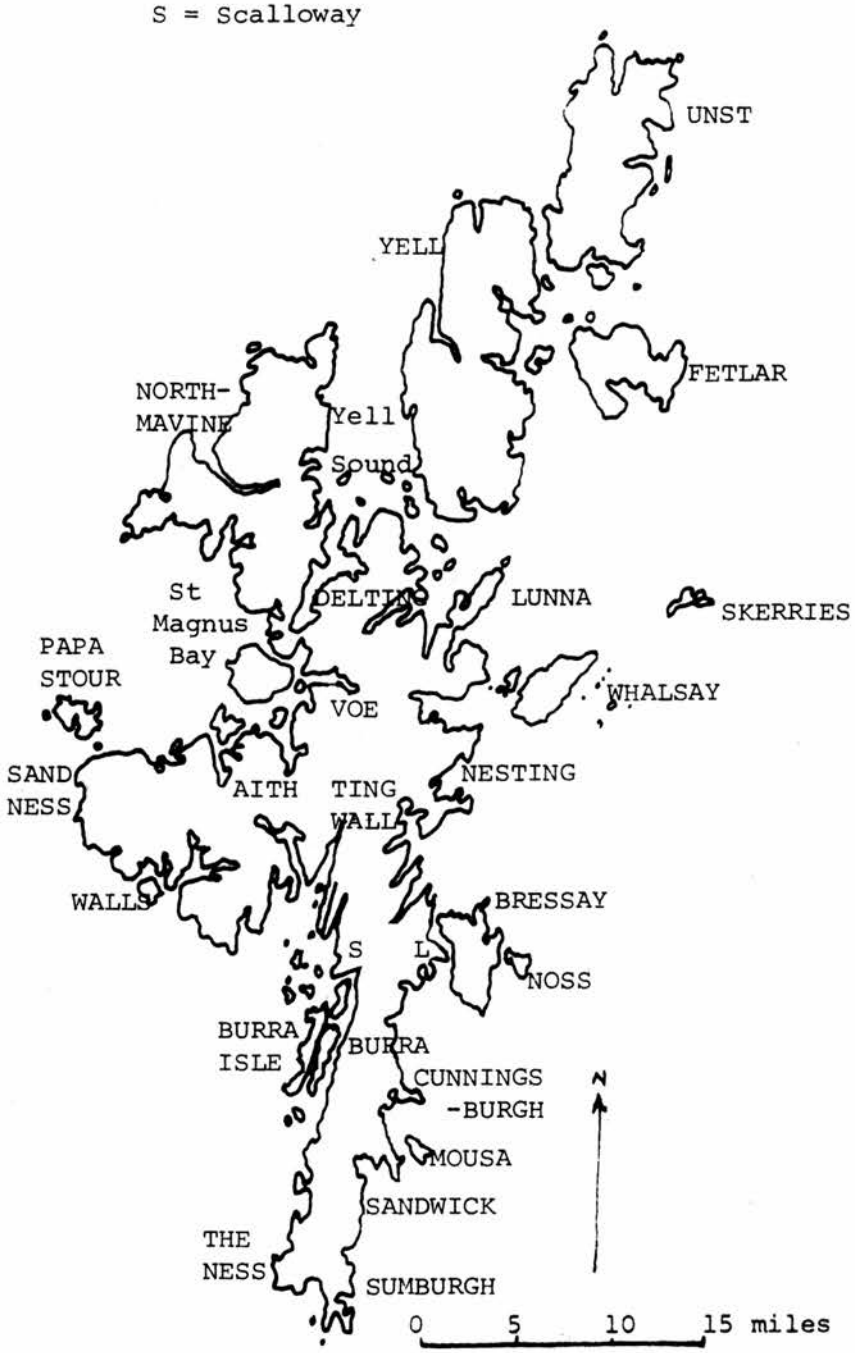
Map 1 (a)

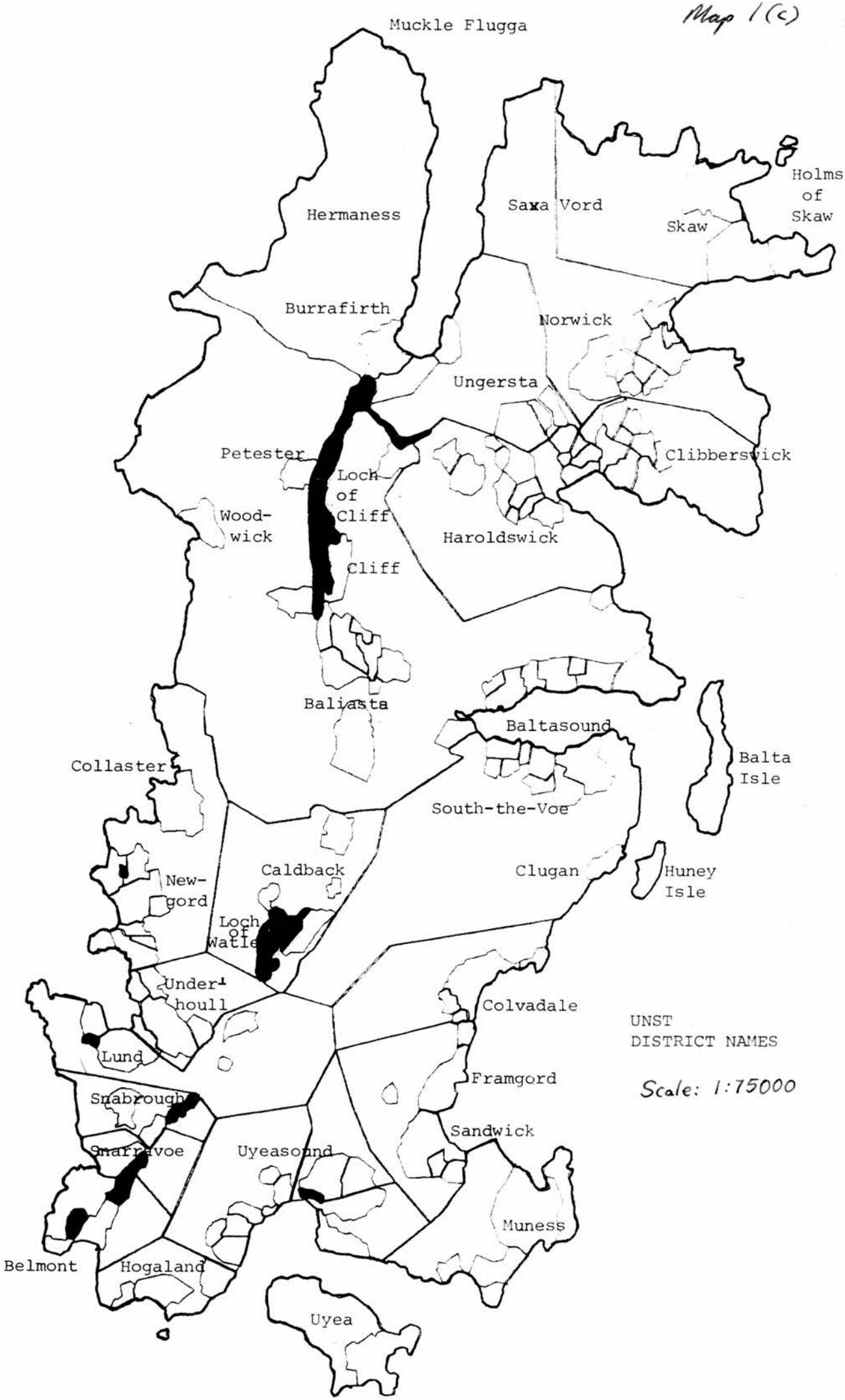

Greenland
SHETLAND
Location
Iceland
Faeroe
60° North
SHETLAND
Bergen
Orkney
Leith
Hamburg

SHETLAND

Map 1 (b)

L = Lerwick
S = Scalloway




Muckle Flugga
Hermaness
Saxa Vord
Holms of Skaw
Skaw
Burrafirth
Norwick
Ungersta
Petester
Loch of Cliff
Clibberswick
Wood-wick
Haroldswick
Cliff
Baliasta
Baltasound
Balta Isle
Collaster
South-the-Voe
Caldback
Clugan
Huney Isle
New-gord
Loch of Watle
Underhoull
Colvadale
Lund
Framgord
Smabrough
Sandwick
Smarravoe
Uyeasound
Muness
Belmont
Hogaland
Uyea
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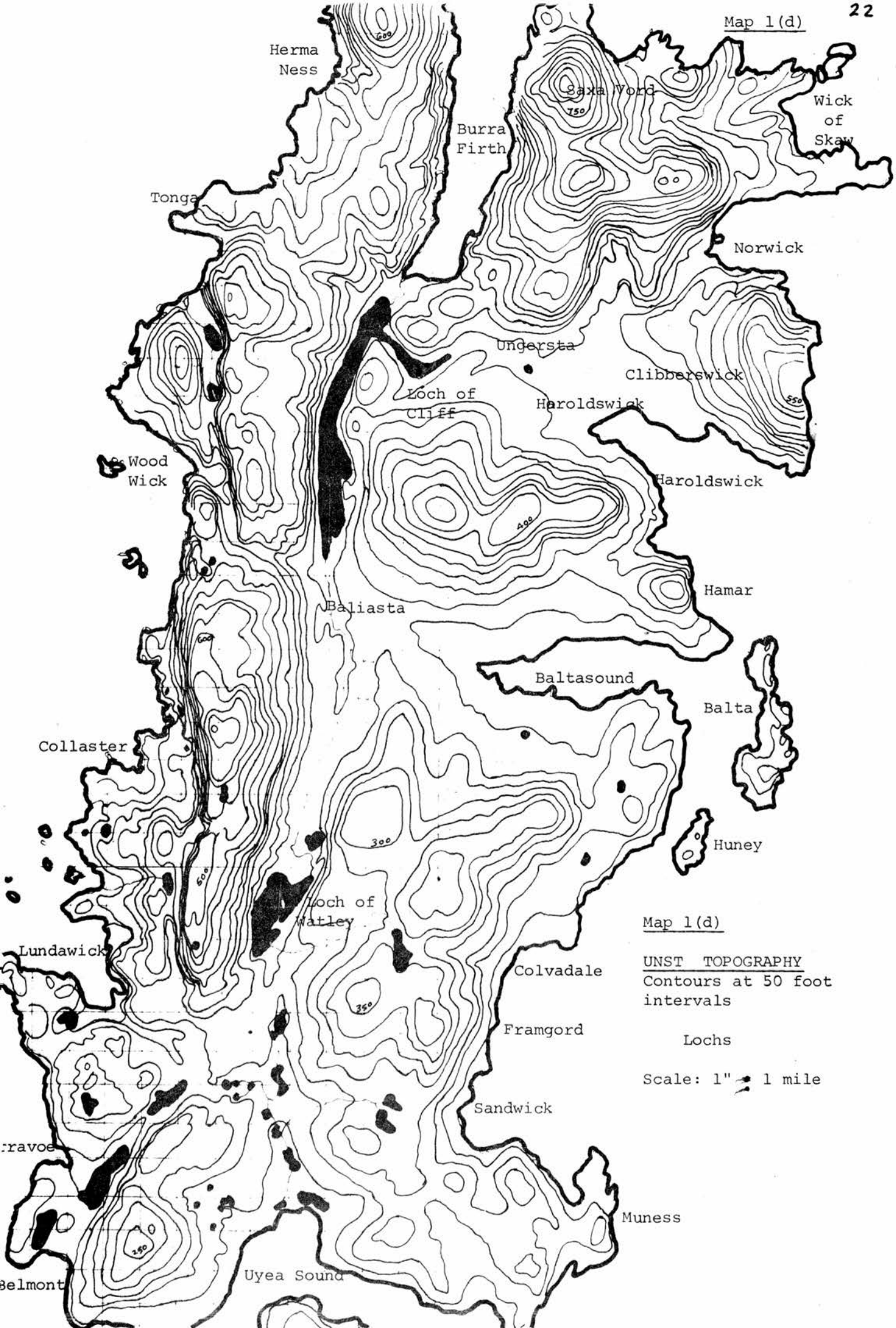
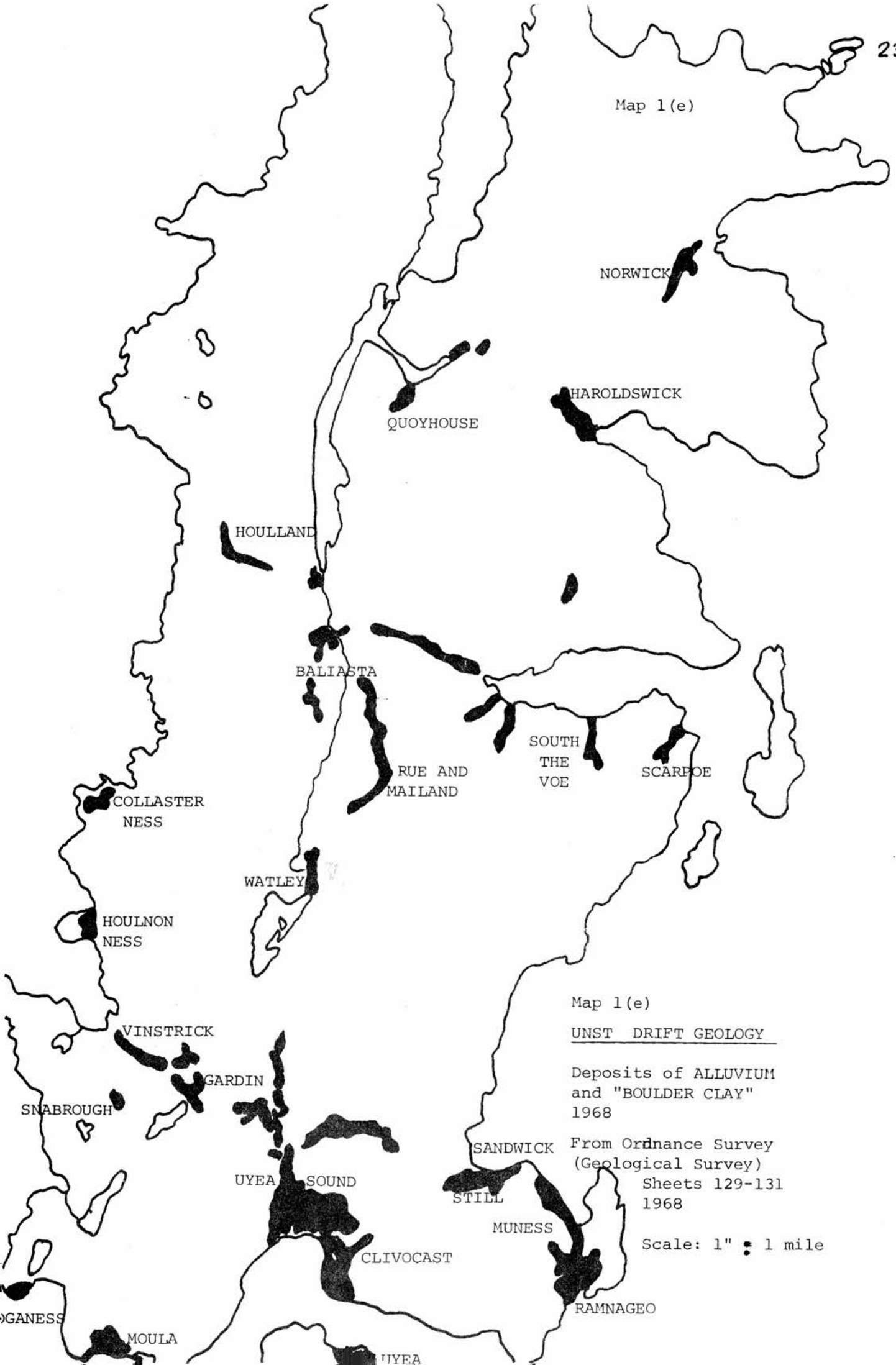
DISTRICT NAMES
Scale: 1:75000


Map 1(d)
Herma Ness
Saxa Vord
Wick of Skaw
Burra Firth
Tonga
Norwick
Ungersta
Clibberswick
Loch of Cliff
Haroldswick
Wood Wick
Haroldswick
Hamar
Baliasta
Baltasound
Balta
Collaster
Huney
Loch of Watley
Lundawick
Colvadale
Framgord
Sandwick
Muness
Uyea Sound
Belmont
600
750
550
400
300
500
350
250
Map 1(d)
UNST TOPOGRAPHY
Contours at 50 foot intervals
Lochs
Scale: 1" = 1 mile



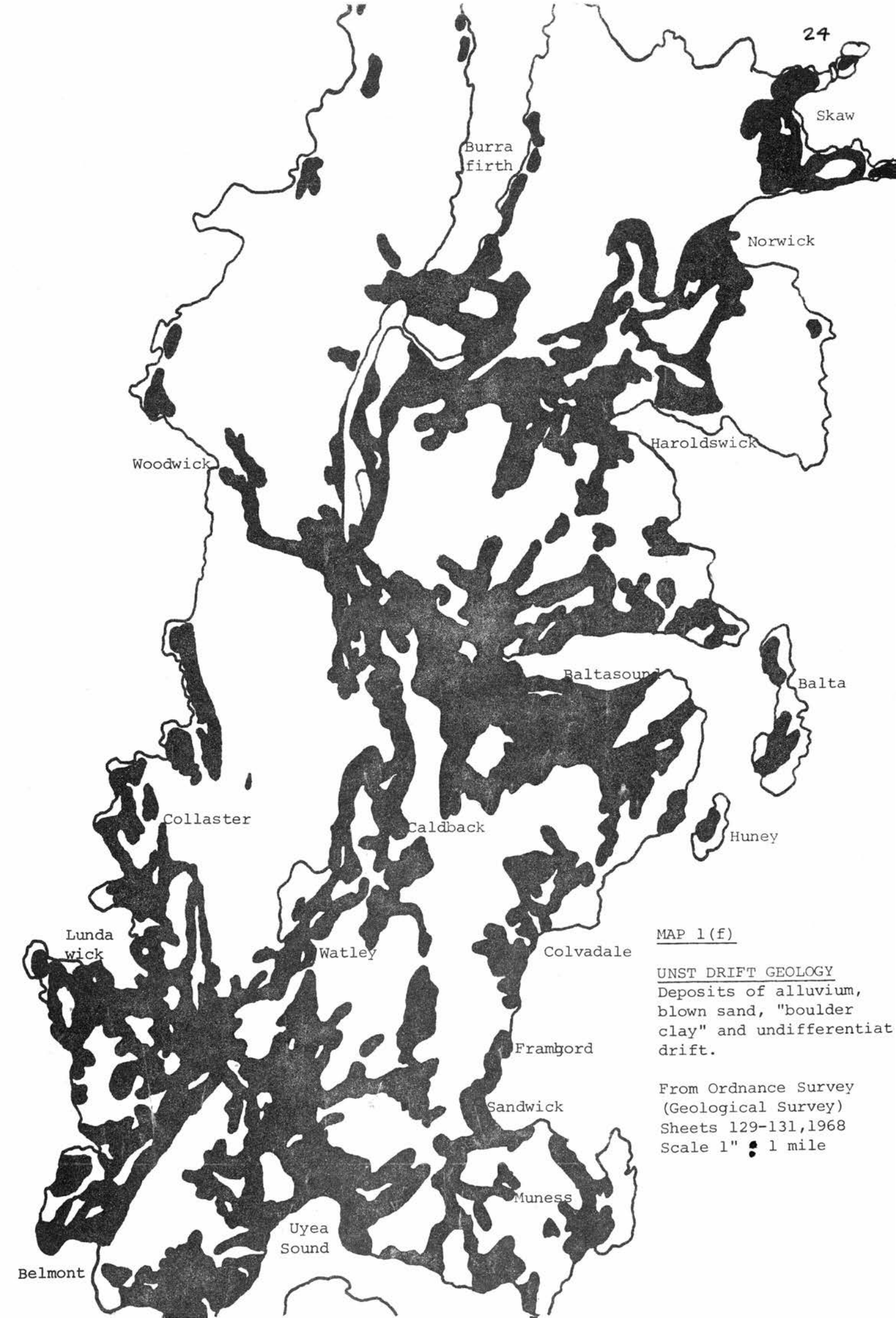
Map 1(e)

UNST DRIFT GEOLOGY

Deposits of ALLUVIUM and "BOULDER CLAY" 1968

From Ordnance Survey (Geological Survey) Sheets 129-131 1968

Scale: 1" : 1 mile

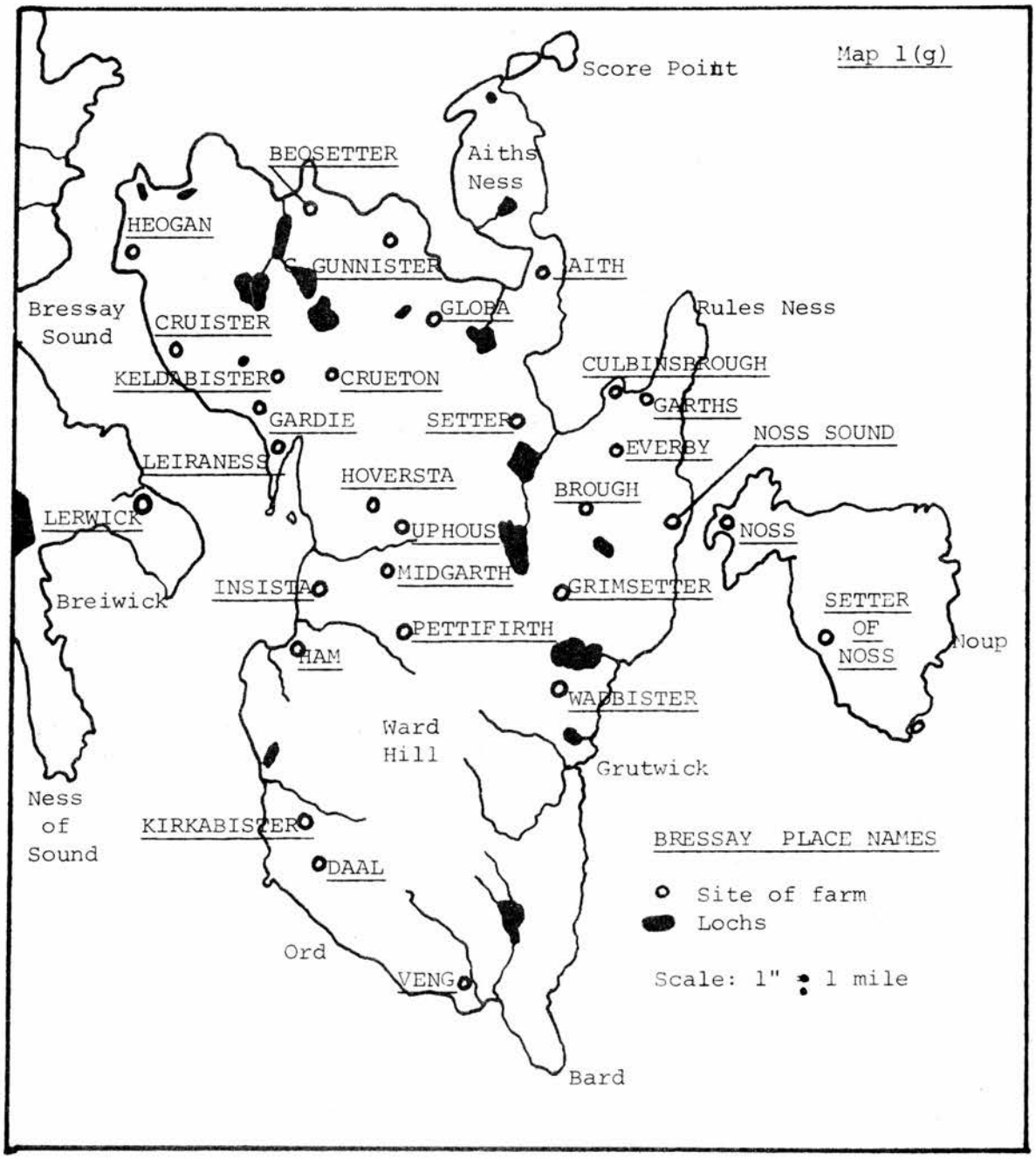


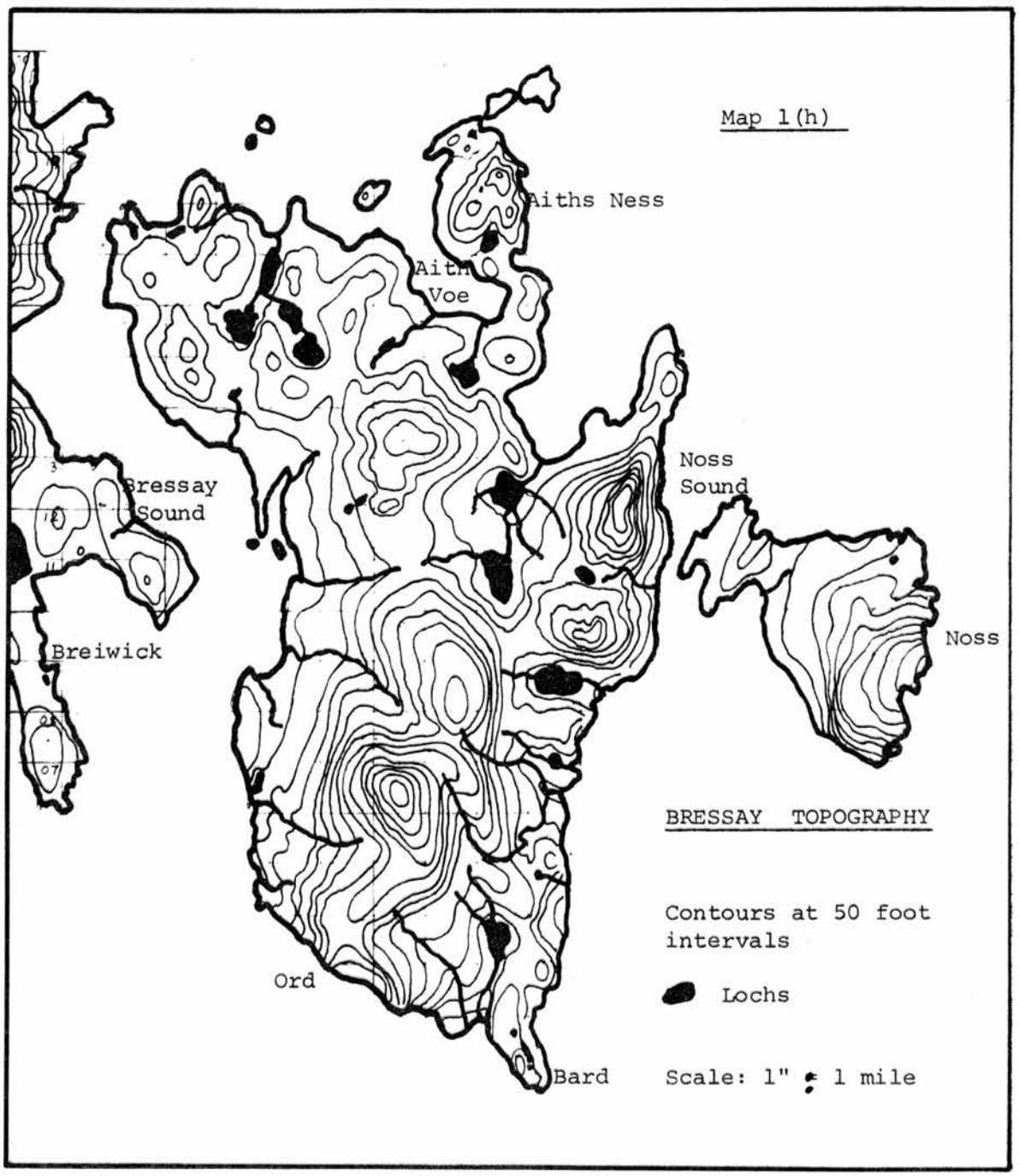
MAP 1(f)

UNST DRIFT GEOLOGY

Deposits of alluvium, blown sand, "boulder clay" and undifferentiat drift.

From Ordnance Survey (Geological Survey) Sheets 129-131,1968
Scale 1" : 1 mile


Map 1(g)
Score Point
BEOSETTER
Aiths Ness
HEOGAN
GUNNISTER
AITH
Bressay Sound
CRUISTER
GLOBA
Rules Ness
KELDABISTER
CRUETON
CULBINSBROUGH
GARTHS
GARDIE
SETTER
NOSS SOUND
EVERBY
LEIRANESS
HOVERSTA
BROUGH
LERWICK
UPHOUSE
NOSS
MIDGARTH
INSISTA
GRIMSETTER
Breiwick
SETTER OF NOSS
Noup
PETTIFIRTH
HAM
WADBISTER
Ward Hill
Grutwick
Ness of Sound
KIRKABISTER
DAAL
BRESSAY PLACE NAMES
Site of farm
Lochs
Ord
VENG
Scale: 1" : 1 mile
Bard


Map 1(h)
Aiths Ness
Aith
Voe
Noss
Sound
Noss
Bressay
Sound
Breiwick
BRESSAY TOPOGRAPHY
Contours at 50 foot intervals
Lochs
Ord
Bard
Scale: 1" : 1 mile

NOTE ON MAP 2

This outline map of the scattalds and rooms of Unst shows the lines of division as they probably existed around the year 1822, when most of the rooms had been "planked" and divided to rearrange the previous runrig layout.

For most of the period under study most of the rooms were not divided by the lines of turf and stone walls shown on this map. Their lands lay intermixed in scattered arable rigs in the townships within which the rooms were tenanted. Apart from such isolated cases as Norwick it is now impossible to ascertain the pre-division boundaries of the rigs pertaining to particular rooms, let alone the proportional distribution of these rigs between the various rooms of a township. Cartographic representation of the lands worked by particular farms within rooms is equally impossible, even in the case of Norwick, for which we have a detailed pre-division map.

Consequently the boundaries of the rooms shown on this map are presented here merely for the sake of cartographic convenience, to give a rough indication of the location of the lands referred to in the rentals from which most of our data is drawn. The only walls and/or fences shown here that existed as stockproof structures in the late eighteenth century are those ring-fences enclosing townships or groups of rooms within townships. In most cases the divisions between the scattalds were merely lines of sight between known and recorded landmarks, though a few had discontinuous fences erected for the purpose of herding stock into enclosures.

The sources for this map are as follows:

1 Ordnance Survey "6 Inch" maps, 1st, 2nd & 3rd Editions.
2 RAF Aerial Photography, 1967.
3 Description of the Scattald Marches of Unst. Gardie Mss, 1741.
4 " " " " " " Buness Mss, 1733.
5 Plan of the division of Norwick. Gardie Mss, 1822.
6 Plan of the division of Baliasta Commonty. Gardie Mss, 1825.
7 Conversations with Lt.Col.L.D.Edmondston of Buness, Mr & Mrs V.E.Owers of Hamar, Mr J.Scott of Gardie and others, 1970.
8 Field survey by the author, 1970 - 1972.
9 Miscellaneous maps and plans, Gardie Mss Map Drawer.

LIST OF ROOMS IN UNST 1775 - 1819

No.	Name.	No.	Name
1	Outer Skaw	51	Gue
2	Inner Skaw	52	Hundagarth
3	Lamba Ness	(53	Gerragarth)
4	Burrafirth	54	Skea-Habbigarth
5	Sotland	55	Bogligarths
6	Budabreck	56	Hagdale
7	Muckle Pund	57	Voesgarth
8	Holsens	58	Halligarth
9	Hoya	59	Buness
10	Virse of Norwick	60	Dale
		61	Midgarth
11	Sandil and Kirkaton	62	Uregarth
		63	Hammer
12	Digron	64	Swinaness
13	Vellie	65	Rue and Mailand
14	Troal		
15	North Dale	(66	Ingistou)
16	Ungersta	67	Gardie
17	Tipton	68	Vae
18	Feal	69	Beiton (Bigton)
19	Bothin		
20	Houll	70	Stotoft
21	Mewhouse	71	Ordale
22	Langhouse	72	Whalegarth
23	Crugadale	73	Scarpoe
24	Clisboe	74	Upshoull
25	Papil	75	Clugon and Huney
26	Westerhouse and Dirlsetter	76	Caldback
		77	Collaster
27	Uphouse	78	Osmisgarth
28	Tunon	79	Quoy
29	Garraton	80	Newgord
30	Skegga	81	Feal in Newgord
31	Sclaten		
32	Valsgarth		
(33	Setters)	82	Bigton
34	Beargardie	83	Himron
35	Spualie	84	Setter
36	Evrigarth	85	Guddon
37	Gardie benorth	86	Watlie
38	Houstin	87	Brough of Colvadale
39	Budigarth		
40	Westergarth	88	Colvadale
41	Stove	89	Virse of Colcadale
42	Watquoy		
43	Kews (Quoyhouse)	90	Mel
		91	Outset on Framgord
44	Petester		
45	Woodwick	92	Framgord
46	Houlland	93	Sandwick
47	Cliff	94	Still
48	Langascol	95	Hannigarth
49	Screvild	96	Vatnigarth
50	Brough of Baliasta	97	Gunnister
		98	Grutquoy

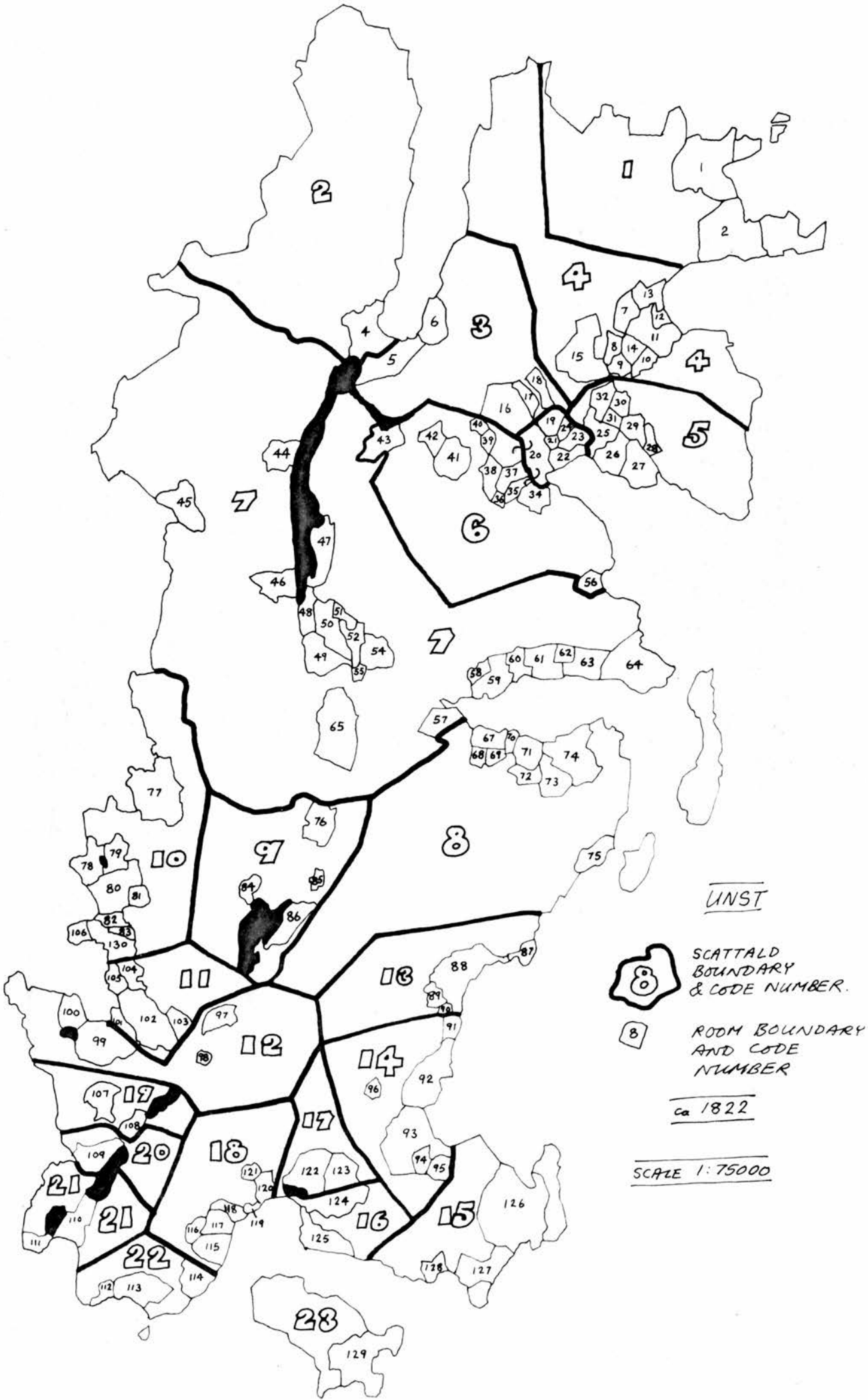
KEY TO MAP 2

No.	Name.
99	Hammer (Lund)
100	Vigga
101	Vinstrick
102	Underhoull
103	Crosbister
104	Baila
(105	Outset)
106	Houlnon Ness
107	Snabrough
108	Gardin
109	Snarravoe
110	Wadbister (Belmont)
111	Oganess
112	Moula
113	Hogaland
114	Brecknigarth
115	Cliprigarth
116	Umboth
117	Gardie besouth
118	Ronon
119	Gardies Fauld
120	Coutts Mill
121	Sundraquoy
122	Hoversta
123	Mailand
124	Murrister
125	Clivocast
126	Muness
127	Ramnageo
128	Littlagarth and Fauld
129	Uyea Isle
130	Houlnon

LIST OF SCATTALDS 1775 - 1819

1	Skaw		
2	Burrafirth		
3	Ungersta and Sotland		
4	Norwick		
5	Clibberswick		
6	Haroldswick		
7	Baliasta		
8	South-the-Voe		
9	Caldback		
10	Sellasetter		
11	Underhoull		
12	Wick		
13	Colvadale		
14	Framgord		
15	Muness		
16	Clivocast and Murrister		
17	Hoversta and Mailand		
18	Sound		
19	Snabrough	20	Snarravoe
21	Wadbister	22	Hogaland
23	Uyea Isle		

MAP 2


UNST
SCATTALD BOUNDARY & CODE NUMBER.
ROOM BOUNDARY AND CODE NUMBER
ca 1822
SCALE 1:75000

"OF LAIRD AND TENANT"

PART 1

Chapter 1. The Gardie Papers

"I have no notion of allowing a young man loose to his own inventions and direction in so public and dangerous a city as Edinburgh."

Thomas Mouat, 1800, aged 52.

" ... the lower classes in every civilized country clamour about the unequal distribution of fortune, hate and envy their superiors. The affluence of the rich excites the indignation of the poor. It is only under the shelter of the Civil Magistrate that the owner of valuable property can sleep a single night in security. He is at all times surrounded by contrary antagonisms which tho' he never provoked he can never appease."

William Mouat, 1811, aged 26.

The Garth estate papers, preserved at Gardie House on the island of Bressay, are one of the largest and most complete collections of such material relating to Shetland. The earliest documents are sixteenth century deeds, but the bulk of the material dates from after 1750. The period 1777-1819 is particularly well covered and, because of the immaculate handwriting of the laird at that time (Thomas Mouat of Belmont and Garth, 1748-1819), particularly easy to study.

The unbound papers were arranged in chronological order by the late Captain N.O.M. Cameron of Garth, and at the time of his death in 1967 he had also sorted the papers into the categories of correspondence, accounts, rentals, deeds and maps.

In 1969 the papers were examined and a preliminary inventory made by Mr. Broome of the Scottish National Register of Archives. ~~(Copy appended)~~

The only previous researcher to have used the papers on any scale was the late Professor A.C. O'Dell when writing his M.Sc. thesis for the University of London in 1933. This work and the book based upon it, "The Historical Geography of the Shetland Islands" (Lerwick, 1939), contain numerous references to the Gardie Papers and to other local manuscript collections.

In 1933 the papers were not sorted as they are now and Professor O'Dell was obliged to sample them more or less at random.

The present writer "discovered" the manuscripts while working on his M.A. Dissertation in Bressay in September 1968, and after some time examining the files it became clear that a more thorough examination was needed. Consequently the first task undertaken in the writing of this work was a catalogue of a large proportion of the documents. This work was begun in September 1969, and was completed

in a total of three months spread over a year. A total of 2,428 items was catalogued in the main "Miscellaneous correspondence and accounts" files, dating from 1609 to 1819; partial inventories were also made of the unfiled fragile material, the estate rentals, accounts, ledgers, letter books and legal papers, noting those items of particular interest to the writer.

It should be noted that there are great differences in the amounts of manuscript material produced by different contributors to the collection.

For the period we are concerned with (1777-1819) the papers include the correspondence of two families; the Hendersons of Gardie and the Mouats of Garth. The estates were amalgamated in 1797 on the death of the last of the Hendersons, James of Gardie, and the transfer of the estate to his niece, Elizabeth Nicolson or Mouat of Garth (wife of Thomas Mouat). The Gardie estate, although founded in Unst (as an offshoot of the Sanderson of Buness estate), was concentrated in Bressay by 1716, and the Henderson lairds moved there from Unst in 1724 or thereabouts. Because of debts and extravagance the estate had sold off nearly all its lands except Bressay and Noss by 1797. Meanwhile the Garth estate, founded in Delting parish, had expanded into Unst to become the major landowner there by 1789. Despite this geographical diversity of origin, the bulk of manuscripts refer to Unst and North Yell islands. Only after the transfer of the Henderson estate to the Mouats do we find any volume of papers referring to Bressay, and even then in nothing like the detail for Unst.

Part of this may be explained by the different nature of the islands; whereas Bressay was small, relatively compact and had only one large landowner, Unst was eight times the size (in merks), divided into distinct districts, and jealously fought over by competing

lairds. Bressay could be managed with a rent roll kept in the laird's head, but Unst needed bookwork and detailed rentals.

The dearth of material on Bressay may also be accounted for by the completely different land management system employed by the Gardie and Garth lairds. William Mouat and his son Thomas were extremely astute businessmen who knew the value of careful book-keeping (and, luckily for us, of copying letters); Magnus Henderson although "bred a merchant" at Hamburgh, was a singularly unsuccessful businessman, careless about correspondence and inclined to extravagance. Thomas Mouat wrote of him in 1814:

"A man of polished manners, conversant in genteel life; built the best house in Shetland [Gardie], and above his fortune, in 1724. Succeeded to a good estate but contracted debt ... died young [in 1733, aged 38] leaving his affairs in confusion, and was succeeded by his son James."

James did not have the chance to prove himself a good businessman, for he was "A quiet gentleman, the victim of debt, constantly engaged with lawyers and writers in settling with creditors and paying debts which he had not contracted; for that purpose he was obliged to sell the greater part of his estate".

(e.g. in 1772 James Henderson owned 1,325 merks of land; in 1797 only 330 merks, nearly all in Bressay and Noss.)

Because of the disparity in the amount of material available, this work is concentrated on the Unst estate, with cross-references to rather than detailed comparisons with Bressay.

We must now consider in more detail the types of manuscript preserved at Gardie, why they were written, why they have survived, what types of information they yield, and what their limitations as source material may be.

Chapter 1:1. Correspondence

The greater part of the collection (both in numbers of documents and sheer bulk of paper) consists of correspondence. Before about 1770 we may say that some of the correspondence appears to have been lost, and in the 17th century the great bulk of it is missing. Only after 1777, when Thomas Mouat apparantly began to keep copies of all his letters (except for the most trifling matters), and to keep all letters sent to him, can we be sure that the manuscripts did not omit items of major importance. It is significant that there was no mention of the 1715 or 1745 risings, although (and perhaps because) the Mouats and Hendersons were Jacobites with Tory Sympathies. (Stevenson, 1879) The French revolution is only mentioned in passing, and the American and Irish mentioned only once. The letters are not a useful source of contemporary political comment.

Of particular interest are the letters from the landlords to their factors, tacksmen, fellow lairds, and relatives involved in estate business. The correspondence between Thomas Mouat and the following persons is especially worthy of study:

William Mouat (his father)

John Mouat (his brother)

William Mouat (his nephew)

Robert Hunter (his brother-in-law)

Robert Hunter (his nephew)

Thomas Arthurson (his factor at Uyeasound)

Thomas Leisk (his factor in Delting parish and tacksman of the Hunters' lands in Lunna and Nesting parishes.)

Bruce of Sumburgh (a fellow laird))
) Both related to the
Gifford of Busta (a fellow laird)) Mouats and Hunters

Robert Robertson of Gossabrough (a fellow laird)

Hosea Hoseason of Aywick (a fellow laird, but like Robertson of a rather lower social status than Mouat)

James Malcolmson WS (Mouat's lawyer in Lerwick and also Sheriff substitute)

These are frequently concerned with trivial debts but contain a wealth of information about the running of the estate and the controversies of rural life that add up to a very illuminating picture of late 18th century society.

Very few of the letters appear to have been written for public consumption, although many are to persons outside Shetland (e.g. letters to lawyers in Edinburgh). We may therefore discount the possibility that any significant number of the letters were fabricated to provide a distorted picture of what went on.

Where a letter was intended for publication or circulation it was usually made fairly obvious.

We do of course find that Mouat sometimes said different things to different people on the same topic, but on the whole the letters are remarkable for their candour, and were certainly not intended by the writers to fall into the hands of research students!

The main uses of the letters are to fill in with comments and fragmentary statistics the picture we have from the printed sources. Sometimes we find that letter writers exaggerated the importance of contemporary events that in the overall picture are less significant (for example, whenever it snowed there was a tendency to describe the weather as "the worst I can remember"), but on the other hand they tell us important things that the published works omit. The letters provide the "atmosphere" that is lacking in the purely statistical

information of the rentals and accounts.

Occasionally the letters reveal really significant information that we do not have from any other source; for example Thomas Mouat's correspondence with Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster on the feasibility of sheep-farming in Shetland, and the revelation in a letter from an Irish merchant in Bordeaux that during the earlier years of the Napoleonic Wars the Shetlanders evaded the blockade, getting their goods stamped "neutral" by obliging merchants in Hamburg and Altona.

The eighteenth century letters are remarkably free from idle gossip and chit-chat, for postage was extremely expensive (even within Shetland) and most of the personalities involved were very busy people so they could afford neither the time nor the money to pad out their letters. The truth of this is borne out by the directness and clear expression of nearly all the Mouat letters, even when writing to close relatives about delicate topics. Only when postal services improved in the early nineteenth century did the volume of superfluous material increase, with the result that it is much harder to find out the important things about the nineteenth century than the eighteenth century, a difficulty compounded by declining standards of handwriting.

Chapter 1:2. Accounts

The estate and personal accounts, together with the summaries in the day-books and ledgers, constitute an almost embarrassing wealth of statistical information. In theory we could trace Mouat's transactions with every merchant, lawyer, fellow laird and tenant, and construct a far more detailed balance sheet than his own annual summaries. This would take a great deal of time, and in this work we usually concentrate on such information as is available in predigested summary form.

The annual summaries of assets and liabilities are particularly valuable and have been summarised in graph form.

One volume in particular, the "Shetland Produce Book" gives a detailed picture of the annual production and sales of the various commodities from Mouat's estate - fish, fish oil, butter, kelp, hides, salt beef, knitted goods and money rents. A notable feature is the almost total absence of sheep as a source of income, knitted goods being a very minor item.

The accounts are remarkable in that they are written in much the same format without any large break between 1777 and 1814/1817, before the conversion to money of payment in kind seriously disrupted the statistics on individual commodities. The problem arises when we try to estimate the relative productivity of the estate as a whole; the estate was measured in merks of land which have no precise areal definition, so that if we calculate the production per merk of any particular commodity there is a very wide margin of possible error. Accurate quantification is almost impossible from sources of this kind until the measurement of the land in acres in the nineteenth century.

The accounts can also be unreliable when it comes to weights

and measures. Fish production is sometimes entered in hundredweights, sometimes in numbers of fish of different species, but always in pounds sterling or scots, so we must use the monetary value as the main indicator with a cross check on weights when available. With butter it is more complicated, for it was weighed in "lispunds" on notoriously unregulated rough and ready contrivances called bismars and pundlars. Their hundredweights could be "a bit out" as well; the weight of the lispund itself was progressively increased by design and default throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries so that by the end of the eighteenth century it had risen to 36lbs Amsterdam from its original value of 12lbs. The effect on actual as distinct from rentalled payments in kind is obvious and was a major source of strife between landlord and feudal superior as well as landlord and tenant. The only feasible indicator for butter is the gross value of sales; price records are confused, fragmentary and do not make it clear whether they refer to the price the laird got or the price he paid his tenants. Butter rents that could not for one reason or another be paid in kind had to be paid in money at stipulated traditional prices, often widely divergent from the current market rate; similarly with fish oil, which was also measured in non-standardised units - cans of oil which almost without exception were larger than they were supposed to be.

Despite the limitations the accounts at Gardie are by far the best run of continuous data, at this scale, that has yet been examined for eighteenth century Shetland, although Smith (1973) and others have done much valuable work on the records pertaining to the production and trade of Shetland as a whole. Because of this and because of the possible sources of error inherent in this source I have not thought it justified to subject the data to any very refined statistical analysis. I have used three-year running means, rates of production

per merk of land and (when comparing two or more commodities) a 100% year-based index, usually starting in 1777 or 1778. Someone more skilled in statistics might have made more of the data but the inherent limitations will remain.

Chapter 1:3. Rentals

The Rentals are sometimes indistinguishable from the accounts, for example when landlords submitted to their tacksmen list of lands, what they paid, and what the tacksmen owed, but the Gardie papers also include many lists of lands, tenants, farm sizes and theoretical payments that were compiled simply for the purpose of recording what the landlords owned. In a period when "landed property has undergone a great revolution" (Thomas Mouat, OSA, 1791) it was important to keep track of what you owned and to let others know it. For this reason rentals sometimes included disputed claims of ownership, but the "Produce Rentals" to which we give most attention here are actual records of what was paid from which farms in each year. These are almost complete from 1777 to 1814, so we can trace very accurately the growth of Mouat's estates and the tenurial status of each farm. A problem is that in the early years from 1777 to 1789, when Mouat's estate was so small that he could keep most of the rentals in his head, the rentals do not always identify both the name of the tenant and the name of the farm, because Mouat knew by heart what he owned and who occupied it. Therefore we do not attempt to trace the fortunes of individual tenants, although this could be done with a great deal of work and cross-reference to the ledgers and day-books where the tenants names are entered. We concentrate on the aggregated data of the overall size distribution of farms and their state of occupation.

The reliability of the "Ley land" data is discussed in Chapter 6 below; in general they may be taken as an accurate indication of the amount of land either untenanted or not in normal tenure. The farm size analysis is complicated by the fact that the population of farms varied each year and there were usually different rentals for parcels of land purchased at different times during Mouat's life.

These two indices have not previously been looked at from any other source in anything like the same amount of detail. As with commodity production there are several sources of error and I have not carried out any very complicated statistical tests on farm sizes or ley lands. I have however graphed and mapped the incidence of ley lands and the distribution of farm sizes over area and time; the results are interesting if not conclusive.

Chapter 1:4. Ledgers and Day Books

The ledgers and day books could themselves provide the data for a separate study of some size. They contain very detailed information on a day to day basis of every single transaction between the laird and tenants, other lairds and merchants. Had we the time and the money we could construct from these books the details of every single fishing trip made by Mouat's tenants between 1777 and 1814. These very detailed sources are used to provide corroboration in specific cases - for example the amounts of money owed by a tenant who is known from another source, perhaps the correspondence files, to have been particularly troublesome. Even a 10% sample of the data would be outwith the scope of this work but it is a promising source for future research. Other accounts sometimes interleaved with the ledgers include such items as the Hunter of Lunna family's "intromissions" with the Crown lands of Shetland in the late seventeenth century. These would give a great deal of information about economic activity in the various districts, and an index of the drain on the local economy by payments to Edinburgh, Germany and London, should anyone have the time and money to do the necessary work.

Chapter 1:5. Deeds

The deeds, as mentioned above, were catalogued by the late Captain Cameron for the period 1700 to the present; this catalogue has been used to trace the physical growth of the Mouat and Henderson estates and the decline of the indigenous peasant proprietors. Because of the difficulty encountered in reading the very old deeds I have been unable to catalogue the pre-1700 deeds, which contain some very early documents from the first decades of the Scots colonisation of Shetland and would repay closer study.

The deeds are a fairly reliable source of information about the feudalisation of land tenure in Shetland; their main use in this study is the identification of personalities, farms and dates of transactions in property (although there are complications arising from the time-lag between transaction and registration of titles). For Bressay they are of particular use in establishing the chronology of the Henderson's takeover in the early eighteenth century, but for Unst most of the information they contain is summarised elsewhere in separate lists of land titles and their main function is corroborative.

Chapter 1:6. Maps

There are very few useful maps in the collection for the period we discuss, most of the good ones being nineteenth century or later. The following have been of particular use;

1822 map of division of arable land in Norwick, Unst

From this I have reconstructed the field pattern of an early nineteenth century township where Thomas Mouat had owned a great deal of land. The only other comparable study of similar date for Shetland is W.P.L. Thomson's ingenious study of Funzie in Fetlar for 1829 (SGM 1970). This map and the Funzie map are discussed in chapter 5:11

Maps of division of commonty in Baliasta and other scattalds

These, although generally of rather later date than the main period of this study, are useful for identifying the boundaries of hill land in townships where the old hill dykes have advanced, retreated or been obliterated by modern developments. The base map for the thesis thematic maps has been constructed from this type of material, supplemented by written descriptions of the boundaries of the 22 scattalds in Unst, by detailed fieldwork, aerial photography and conversations with Lt. Col. Edmonston of Buness. Strangely enough this seemingly antiquarian exercise has proved to be of some practical use for the Crofters Commission and the Scottish Land Court are still trying to establish the true boundaries of certain Unst scattalds for the purpose of measuring and allocating modern apportionments from the common grazings.

A map by Thomas Mouat of Unst in 1791

This and other of Mouat's sketch-maps have been used to identify townships whose names have changed or whose boundaries have been lost

in the intervening two centuries. This particular map was printed in the Old Statistical Account, Volume V, 1792.

The main defect of these early maps is their cartographic inaccuracy. This is seen at its worst in the Norwick map, made by one of the self-taught local surveyors employed to make divisions of arable and commonty in the earlier processes, and is almost indecipherable without the aid of modern maps, aerial photographs, field survey and information from present inhabitants as to field names, boundaries etc.

In general the Gardie maps are of more use for the study of the mid-nineteenth economic and agricultural geography of the estate, but even then they cannot be regarded as more than illustrative of material in the manuscripts and rentals.

Chapter 1:7. Legal Papers

Apart from the deeds, there are numerous items prepared for the interminable litigation in which Thomas Moust (and more particularly his father) specialised. These often list debts, farms and tenants, scattald marches, names of ships, customs regulations etc., and are usually filed with the miscellaneous correspondence in chronological order.

Common causes of litigation and petitions were:

1. Disputes over ownership of land;
2. Complications over old debts in obsolete currencies;
3. Naval recruitment;
4. Arguments over the amounts of teind* payable to the ministers, who brought several successful processes against the lairds during this period;
5. Action against forestallers* and clandestine merchants*;
6. Breach of contract by tenants and, more commonly, by fellow lairds and merchants;
7. Agitation for a parliamentary valuation* and franchise for the lairds;
8. Disputes over the distortion of weights and measures;
9. Breach of local by-laws ("Country Acts") controlling agricultural husbandry and employment of servants;
10. Recruitment by Greenland whale-fishing ships from Hull and Dundee, etc;
11. Attempts to avoid payment of both Norwegian and British land taxes and other exactions;
12. Complaints against the severity of Customs Officers and regulations about imports and exports from remote "creeks".

~~* These could well be included in a "Glossary" at the beginning.~~

Most of the documents go into great detail and as is clear from the above list, they cover a wealth of topics; they are thus particularly valuable as a source, but as most of them were compiled for public consumption and the presentation of very partisan points of view, often in the Court of Session, they must be taken with a pinch of salt (the importation of which was another cause of dispute!) and checked with rentals, accounts, and confidential correspondence wherever available. For example, a petition to the House of Commons for famine relief in 1785 claimed that "the heritor's funds are exhausted" in the provision of food for the lower orders, yet shortly afterwards Thomas Mouat and his brother John invested £50 sterling in company to buy "poor's meal" and retail it at a profit. (See chapter 6)

The arguments between the minister of Bressay and Thomas Mouat between 1809 and 1816, for example, give completely conflicting accounts of the profits that were made from the fishing tenure system, and provide intriguing arguments for and against including the fishing profits in the valued rent of the island. This alone is a major source in the study of the fishing system operated by Thomas Mouat and his fellow lairds. A further advantage of these legal papers is that they were invariably written in triplicate.

Chapter 1:8. Miscellaneous Items

Two notebooks in particular do not fall into any of the above categories; they are Thomas Mouat's "Holograph signature book" of 1814 and his "Vade Mecum" notebook of ca 1777 (with additions up to his death).

The Signature Book (abbreviation HSB) contains brief biographies of fellow lairds, immediate family and the antecedents of most of the landowning families in Shetland, adorned with signatures of most of the characters cut out from papers in the Gardie collection, a piece of vandalism, as the late Captain Cameron put it, for which Thomas Mouat may be forgiven. This notebook is useful when consulted in conjunction with F. Grant's "Zetland Family Histories" (usually referred to as "The Stud Book"!) and indeed corrects it on several points. It is invaluable in sorting out the ramifications of intermarriage and the rise and fall of the Shetland landowning families from the sixteenth century onwards.

"Vade Mecum" (abbreviation VM) is a collection of stated rentals (as distinct from produce rentals); censuses of population taken by the Minister at Mouat's request; names of tenants; instructions on "country business" and the law of conveyancing; rentals of land taxes and tiends; numbers of livestock; inventories of possessions; names of servants; and snippets of information of one kind or another. It has been a major source for this work, being a private notebook that would not have been available to any one else but Mouat himself, and the population totals are unusually detailed and valuable. From it we find such items as the details of arrangements made for "hiring" horses and ownership "in halvers" of

cows and other livestock by tenants too poor to own their own, something hardly mentioned in any other source but crucial to understanding the rural economy of the time.

NB. Throughout this work the individual manuscripts are referred to by their catalogue numbers or, in the case of items in files containing very few manuscripts, by the year only. Thus "(No. 257)" refers the reader to document of that number, which is in the year file for 1725. Two copies of the catalogue are kept at Gardie House.

PART I

Chapter 2. "The First Scots Colony"

" ... yet these islands seem rather to be considered as a colony to, than a part of, the British nation ..... "

"A gentleman in Shetland"
writing to Alexander Shirreff.
(Shirreff, 1814, Appendix 26)

Chapter 2:1. The Scots Takeover

One of the speakers at the Shetland Quincentenary Historical Congress held in Lerwick in August, 1969, was Professor Gordon Donaldson, whose book "Shetland Life Under Earl Patrick" (1958) reviewed the evidence of local economic and social conditions at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In his paper Professor Donaldson suggested that Shetland unlike Orkney was not significantly "Scottified" before the impignoration of 1469 (whereby the islands, with Orkney, were transferred from the Danish to the Scottish Crown), but that the process accelerated rapidly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This evidence was drawn from an analysis of personal names recorded between 1602 and 1648. He concluded that about a third of the population of Shetland in the early seventeenth century was of Scots descent.

"Our knowledge of the history of Shetland before the seventeenth century is derived only from casual references and isolated documents, supplemented by archaeological discoveries and conjectures based on what we know of developments elsewhere. But just after 1600 a substantial body of written evidence becomes, for the first time, available for the study of Shetland history." (i.e. The Court Books).* (Donaldson 1958)

* Court Books of Orkney and Shetland for the years 1602 - 1604 and 1615 - 1628; Records of Testaments for 1611 - 1648; Register of Sasines (1623 onwards).

From the earlier documents we learn, for example, that by 1501 a merchant from Germany (whence the trade of Bergen was controlled in the period) was trading in Shetland (Tait, 1955); in 1521 another "Dutch" (i.e. Deutsch) merchant had established himself in Unst (Donaldson, 1958, 64); in 1524 the islands were "laid waste" by English ships (O'Dell, 1939, 284). Crown papers confirm a local legend that the south of Shetland was devastated in the 1550's by raiders from the Western Isles, (Ibid, 1958, 78). The Registers of the Privy Council also contain scattered though valuable references which have yet to be studied in detail.

From the early Gardie papers (note that the earliest deeds have not yet been studied) and from F. Grant's "Zetland County Families" (1911) we learn that representatives of the two families we are most concerned with, the Mouats of Garth and the Hendersons of Gardie, were in Shetland in the 1570's. Andrew Mouat of Swinzie, Caithness, the first of his family to settle in Shetland, is mentioned as "A.M. of Hogaland" (Northmavine) in 1572; three years later we find his contemporary William Magnusson of Gardie joining with the other principal landowners in complaining about the activities of Lawrence Bruce of Cultmalindie, (See Balfour, "Oppressions", 1875) the royal favourite who built the castle of Muness, Unst. Magnusson was the grandfather of the first Magnus Henderson, who dropped the Norse patronymic custom (a sign of imitative "Scottification"?), and was probably descended from a Great Foude (i.e. Sheriff) and Chancellor of Shetland, Heinrich Henderson, who held a charter from King Christian of Denmark before the 1469 impignoration.

The history of the first century and a half of Scots rule is thus not yet well known. We know that the Crown re-annexed Shetland

in 1542 as an insurance against Danish attempts to redeem the 1469 "pledge"; we know that in 1611 the Scots parliament (i.e. Bishop Law) formally revoked the old Norse laws of Shetland; Dr. Nicolaisen (1968) has illustrated the translation of some Norse place-names into Scots and the creation of a few new place names in a mixture of Scots and Norse after 1469, but of the underlying social tensions and conflicts we know little or nothing before the copious evidence of the Court Books and Testaments of the early 1600's.

The 1602-04 Books are of particular interest as they record the operation of a Norse legal system by a Scottish Earl, Patrick Stuart (son of Queen Mary's brother Robert and "a bastard in every sense of the word" (Mitchison 1967)). Patrick was arrested in 1608 and executed (with his son Robert) at Edinburgh in 1615 for inciting rebellion in Orkney. During his imprisonment the Norse laws were formally abolished and the "Law Book" mysteriously disappeared, but the laws enacted by his immediate successors, the "Country Acts", (See copy in Appendix) were essentially translations into Scots language and procedure of the ancient Norse regulations governing pasturage, herding, fuel gathering, harvesting, dyke-building, and the other routine activities of the local economy. This is evident from the similarity between the Country Acts and Earl Patrick's laws. They also added some provisos designed to prevent early marriage by the improvident poor, to ensure a regular supply of servants, and to provide for poor-relief. These Country Acts were the basis of district administration for over 200 years thereafter, and carried well into the nineteenth century a system of land management and husbandry that remained basically Scandinavian. (c.f. the Faeroes where similar regulations, particularly in regard to the rights pertaining to land, survive to this day - Williamson, 1970; Jackson, p.c. 1972).

Chapter 2:2. The Structure of Seventeenth Century Society

From his analysis of the inventories and the Court proceedings, Professor Donaldson concluded that "The main element in Shetland society in Earl Patrick's day and for at least a generation after it was a middle class of relatively small landholders. Many of them were udallers, but quite a number were tenants holding land either of the Earl or of one of the large landowners, while some held part of their land by udal tenure and part in tenancy. All of them, however, formed one class, among whom there was a substantial degree of equality. (Donaldson, 1958, 83). He also identified a small number of "wealthy magnates" who must have been capitalists organising a fishery on a commercial basis and owned several boats. One of these, Sinclair of Brough had 13 in all (Ibid, p.45). He was certainly the most wealthy man in Shetland; when he died in 1603 his inventory was valued at £26,486 Scots. (Ibid, 80). He was among the 14 wealthy Scots incomers who "found caution for keeping the peace" in 1597 to the value of between 500 and 5,000 merks Scots apiece. (J. T. Graham, p.c.1971). The Sinclairs of Brough, Houss, Ustaness, Quendal, Uyea and Brew then outranked and outnumbered the other major heritors, the Umphrays of Berrie, the Giffords of Weathersta, the Bruces of Sumburgh and of course the Mouats and Hendersons, yet by the end of the eighteenth century there was not to be found a Sinclair in Shetland who owned anything like a large estate. (Sinclair of Quendal, a Jacobite, was the only Shetland laird to have his lands sequestrated after the '45.) The fall of the Sinclairs illustrates the financial instability at the wealthier levels of seventeenth century Shetland society, an instability that persisted until the consolidations of the early nineteenth century.

If there were relatively few of these "great men" especially in the early seventeenth century, there were also very few papers mentioned in the Court Books and Inventories.

Donaldson went so far as to say "The inference is that, just as there were few instances of great individual wealth, so there must likewise have been a comprative absence of seriouspoverty". (Ibid, 88). However, there was already evidence of the factors that were to disrupt the "established order;"

"While it is true that in Earl Patrick's time the members of the Shetland middle class were, as we should say nowadays, still maintaining their standard of living, there are indications that the exactions levied on them, in one way or another, were so severe that their position was being undermined. There was, quite apart from any exceptional or new impositions, steady pressure on them through the manifold dues known as scat, landmails, girsum, wattle and teinds. The liability of each individual depended to some extent on the nature of the conditions on which he held his land; but all those exactions, with the exception of a proportion of the landmails and girsum, were going into the pockets of the Earl or of incomers from Scotland, and represented a steady drain of wealth from the core of native Shetland Society. The Earl's manifold claims arose from his position as holding not only the old earldom properties but also the former crown lands and the Bishop's revenues". (Ibid, 89).

"When we take into account all the factors which tended to depress the middle class, we see the beginning of a process which in a matter of two generations was to transform Shetland Society until it consisted, throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, mainly of a group of landlords (who were very often also merchants), on one hand, and a vast number of small crofters-fishermen on the other." (Ibid, 93).

This process was essentially the elimination of the peasant-proprietor class - the udallers. Professor Donaldson suggested a systematic study* of the register of sasines (preserved from 1623) and postulated that it would show clearly that "the small holdings conspicuous in Earl Patrick's time continued to predominate for another generation or so and the process of the accumulation of properties to form large estates was not well advanced until after the middle of the seventeenth century". (Ibid, 15).

*Now in progress, undertaken by Mrs. F. Burton of E.U. Scot. Hist. Dept.

A striking feature of the Inventories is the frequent mention of a class of house and farm servants, and there are instances of landowners enforcing at law the conditions of service for their employees.

Chapter 2:3. Deutsch Merchants and Direct Rule

The Court Books are a particularly rich source of information on the German merchants who conducted most of the trade of Shetland. (There were some English merchants in Bressay and a few Scots elsewhere, and Donaldson (1973) estimates that by the 1690's there were about a score of Scots merchants in Shetland.) There was considerable rivalry, occasionally physical violence, between them, and a case in 1602 shows two merchants competing for the exclusive rights to trade in the parish of Northmavine (Ibid, 62). Another merchant defaulted on payment for a booth that the Earl's Steward, Captain Thomas Knightison, had built for him at Heogan, Bressay. There is clear evidence that the Scots landlords (including the Mouats) were actively involved in trade via these merchants. (Ibid, 93). This dual monopoly over the commodities produced by the udallers and tenants was to continue until the early eighteenth century.

While most of the trade was carried on at the "creeks" of the different districts, the town of Lerwick originated in the early seventeenth century as a collection of shacks and bothies along the seashore (just as Scalloway - literally "the bay of the booths" - had done in the days when the Alting law assembly assembled in Tingwall); but Lerwick's origins were commercial rather than administrative. The history of Lerwick has been exceptionally well documented, and its original function as a rendezvous for the Dutch herring fleets is well known. (See Goodlad, O'Dell, Reid Tait, etc). The burning of Lerwick by the indignant dignitaries of Scalloway in 1625 is also a favourite piece of folk-lore, but it is not so widely known that this followed an edict of 1614 by the same

court, viz:

"Item. It is statut and ordanit that in all tyme cumming no person or persones sall repair to the sound nor ile of Brassay for furnishing of beir, vivoris and other necessaries to the Hollandaris and utheris foirrenn-[eris] committing thairby villanie, fornication and adultrie, under the paine of xx libs scots toties quoties as they sall happen to be challengeit; and that the owners of the ground sall dimolishe all housis bigit nor sall suffer none to be big nor mak residence thair to the effect forrsaid, under the lyk paine of xx lib." (Barclay, 1967).

By 1625 this persistent annoyance had so far revived, that for the first time it was referred to by name as a distinct settlement; "Lerwick, quilk is a desert place".*

After the eclipse of the Stuart Earls the islands were administered by the Crown through Chamberlains and Stewards until 1643 when they were granted briefly by Charles 1st to the Earl of Morton. He was reinstated after the Restoration but ousted again in 1669. He was succeeded by a series of Crown Chamberlains until the Morton family was again granted the islands, this time in perpetuity, in 1707.

The evidence studied so far from the mid seventeenth century is almost as scanty as before, at least as far as the Gardie papers are concerned, but no thorough study has yet been made of the Deeds and Chamberlain's accounts.

An early source is Captain John Smith's "Trade of Great Britain Displayed" which included a description of a visit to Orkney and Shetland in 1633. Unfortunately for the local historian this work (which was in fact written 30 years after 1633) is mainly a navigational treatise, and adds little to the information about local conditions that we get from the Court Books. In the following year

* cf. my paper "Quilk is a desert place" (New Shetlander 1970).

we have a record of a serious famine in 1634 (RPCS 2nd Series v. 284-5, 1634 Remonstrance from vassals and tenants of Shetland); (Sumburgh Mss Letter Book, 3, 5, 1784).

From the Gardie Papers (No. 6) we have a list of the booths operated by the German merchants, and there are numerous accounts, receipts, bills of lading, orders and bonds issued and received by the Germans during the whole of the seventeenth century.

It is clear that even at this early date the merchants of England, to say nothing of Scotland, were disturbed by the power the Germans wielded in the valuable markets of Shetland. Captain Elder (1912) commented thus on an entry in the Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland;

"Thus in 1661, even before the companies had been established, Gideon Murray, a merchant in Edinburgh, who had got ready 2 busses for the fishing at Shetland ... complained of the "hamburghers and lubicquers" who were accustomed to engage all the available fishermen in the islands along with their boats. In answer to his request, it was declared that he was to be served in preference to the foreigners, in all respects, by the Shetlanders, and was to be allowed to buy their fish at the ordinary rates until his busses were loaded. Similar privileges were granted in the same year to the inhabitants of various fishing towns and villages in Fifeshire." (Elder, 1912, 92, quoting Register of the Privy Council, Scotland, vol. i. (3rd Series) 660).

Gideon Murray was probably worried about cod, tusk and ling as well as herring; the Dutch predominance in herring fishing was of course a major source of complaint and the subject of military sanctions, whereas the Germans were eased out of the trade by fiscal measures at the end of the seventeenth century.

The Commonwealth had little effect on Shetland apart from the construction of a fort at Lerwick (later named Fort Charlotte), but it provided an opportunity for the lairds to renew their complaints about paying both land tax ("cess" - first introduced in 1597) and Skatt, a Norwegian tribute of mixed origin that was equated with a land tax. In 1651 James Mouat of Ollaberry refused to pay cess to

the government "as not due from the Country of Zetland, i.e. that the Country is not lyable or ever ought to be compelled to pay cess". (No. 7).

The Commonwealth also raised the weight of the lispund, the unit in which butter payments were made, and by 1659 it had reached 28 lbs ("French weights"). All the "Oppressions & Grievances" of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries inflicted by the Stuarts, the Mortons and the Chamberlains, had only managed to raise the "standard" lispund from 12 lbs. in 1584 to 16 lbs. in 1643, so this was a considerable imposition. When Morton was reinstated in 1663 the weight was reduced to 16 lbs. and it was not until 1738 that it (officially) regained the iniquitous level of 1659. (Mackenzie 1750). Nonetheless it was up to 24 lbs. by 1684 (Sibbald 1711, 6).

In an early attempt to consolidate his position Morton had persuaded some landowners to buy feu charters in 1648, and on his second temporary return in 1662-1669 he revived the idea. In 1664, a year of crop failure, bad fishings, disease and dearth, his agent Alexander Douglas of Spynie organised the large-scale selling of feus to the Shetland landowners; his instructions to his representatives in Shetland are preserved in the Gardie Papers. Many of the udallers, and nearly all the Scots landowners agreed to take charters on at least some of their land (under Norse Law all that had been required was a "Shynd Bill" - a bill of sale, and/or continuous occupation for 40 years). Only Unst and Fetlar, where as late as 1803 none of the land was feued, (No. 1,691) escaped and a total of £15,000 Scots was raised in this manner in 1664 alone. (Edmondston, 1809, II, 348). Spynie specifically warned his men to ignore the claims of "those pretending to hold of the Lords of Norway ... "

Despite this, resistance to Scots fiscal exactions persisted and in 1679 the landowners were threatened with the quartering of troops on them for arrears of Cess. Although this threat had some effect in 1679 it was actually put into execution in 1686, when a company of troops were sent to Shetland. There they remained for a year compiling " ... a competent list of the deficients of Supplie ... " (No. 129). The company that relieved them in 1687 surrendered the castle of Scalloway to "the gentry of Shetland" when confirmation of the Glorious Revolution was received in 1689. In 1688 the same troop harassed the minister of Bressay and consumed all his provisions. (No. 156). After 1689 the objections evaporated somewhat as the lairds discovered the profits to be made from appointments as Commissioners of Supply, collecting skatt and cess from their neighbours. The Hunters of Lunna had realised this as far back as 1665, when one of them acted as chamberlain for the Earl of Morton. He survived the fall of his master in 1669 and his accounts are particularly complete for the 1680's; these accounts have yet to be studied in detail but they indicate that the drain of wealth from Shetland to Scotland, mentioned by Donaldson in his study of the early seventeenth century, had continued, exacerbated by the distortion of weights and measures by design and default.

Another man who realised that it was better to serve than to resist was Andrew Mouat of Garth, who ignored his uncle James Mouat's example (see above) and profited by his "intromissions" as Stewart Clerk, collecting Skatt, supervising the Skatt-baillies, (most of whome were among the richer class of landowners) and dealing with the German merchants on behalf of the late seventeenth century Stewarts of Shetland. (Nos. 86, 96, etc.).

Chapter 2:4. "Sibbald's Description"

The second major source of information about the seventeenth century is "The Description of the Isles of Shetland", published in Edinburgh in 1711 by Sir Robert Sibbald, with his own annotations. This work was compiled by Patrick Menteith of Egilsay and Gairsay, an Orcadian landowner, and was probably intended for the Earl of Morton and/or the General Assembly. Menteith quoted from Captain Smith's topographical account of 1633, and included with his own observations a collection of parochial descriptions, written in 1684 ... "by Bishop Mackenzie's orders, done by Mr. Theodore Humphray, Mr. Hugh Leigh minister of Bressay and Mr. James Key, the most intelligent ministers there." (Sibbald, 1711, 9-10). The work is a sort of rudimentary Statistical Account, although it is less informative than those of the 1790's, and 1840's. It is, however, a little known work these days and it is worthy of quotation and comment:

"The Country is most of it more fit for Pasturage of Cattel, than for Corns, of which they have not so much as serveth to maintain them, but must be supplied from the Orkney Isles, and the Continent of SCOTLAND."

"There is store of Peets, and Turfs for Fewel in all these Isles. Fishes they take, and their Cows, and the gross Manufactures they make in this Country."

"There are only two towns or Burghs in all these Isles, viz. Scallawey, formerly the chief Town, and the seat of the Governour and of the Presbytery. But now not so much frequented, tho pleasantly situated in a fertile place of the Country, with Corn, grass and Meadows about it, yet scarce has a hundred Soules in it, there not being much trade there.

The other Town which is most frequented for Trade, is Lerwick, lying South and North upon the side of the Sound over against the Isle of Bressey, it is now become the principal Town in the Country; it is more than a mile in length, and within these few years hath arised to consist of between 200 and 300 families; because of the many ships, which yearly, frequent Brassa Sound, which draws from the Continent, and Isles, Merchants and Tradesmen to come and dwell in it, being neither too pleasantly situated, nor in so fertile a Country, as that of Scallawey."

" ... Of the Isles and Holms, 26 are said to be inhabited, and the others are imployed for feeding Bestial ... "

"Most of the arable ground in these Isles is inclosed with dykes, and the manured ground produceth only Oats and Bere Barley ..."

Of the people he wrote:

"The women generaly are well favoured, and vertuous and frugal; many of the common men are much given to tipling, yet some live to a great age without tasting wine or Ale or beer: contenting themselves with water, milk, and their Drink made of it, they call Blande.

Young and old men and women are much given here to the Snuffing and Smoking of Tobacco.

The present inhabitants consist of the Clergie and the laity: the laicks of the Gentry and the Commons.

The Gentry in manners, customs and Fashions agree much with the Gentrie of the Mainland of Scotland, from whence they came: they are most of them well-bred, and inclined to Hospitality.

The Commons are either the old Natives for immemorial possession or such as not long since came hither from Scotland.

The Natives are known from the Incommers by their want of surnames, having only Patronymic Names. Many of them, are descended from the Norvegians, and speak a Norse Tongue, corrupted (they call Norn) amongst themselves, which is now much worn out. The Inclination of many of these of Norvegian Extract is base and Servile, Subtile and False, and Parasitick; they are wise to deceive, and if they be not restrained by severe Lawes, they are much given to Theft. They are, generally very Sharp, and consequently docile, and because of their Commerce with the Hollanders, they promptly speak Low Dutch.

They are less given to Venerie and Quarrells, and more Sober than some of the other Inhabitants of a British Extract, and they are richer.

Divers of them are Udalers, that is Proprietaries of the Land (manured by them) by immemorial Possession, severals of these are men of Substance, and can promptly speak the Scots Tongue. Here Hospitality is observed not only by the Gentry, but also by the Common Farmers of Land.

The Incommers (whose residence in these Isles is not above a few Centuries of years) are very politick, by reason of their frequent Converse with Strangers, which resort hither from all parts of Christendom, they are Sagacious and Subtile, and readie to take advantage of those they have business with, and are proud and stubborn, if softly treated: but if they be roughly handled, they are flexible: they are many of them great Drinkers and given to Venerie, and are Quarelsome, and these speak the Scots Language as well as the Norse.

The Clergie are Learned, and painfull and diligent: most of them have three Churches, at considerable Distances.

The Gentry are Civil and much given to Hospitality, especially towards Strangers, they are well furnished with all necessaries for the Convenience and pleasure of Life; ... Some of them apply to Navigation, and in Hollands Vessels travell to both the Indies, to Guinea and to Greenland, and often to France, Italy and Spain, and breed their Sons in such parts of the Mathematicks, as are subservient to Navigation ..."

"The greatest part of the food of the Commons in the Summer time, is milk and Fish."

"They milk thrice a day, churn once a day, and make very good butter and Cheese."

"Their fish afford not only food, but matter of Trade to them, by cureing them, and the Oyle they make of the Livers of them: these bring to them Money, and all necessaries in time of Peace: the Fishes they take for their own use, some of them they eat fresh, some they hang in Skeos till they be soure, and these they call Blowen Fishes. Such as they design for Merchant Ware, some they Salt, and some they hang Fresh in Skeos, [i.e. dry stone wall sheds] till they be perfectly dry, and they call those Stock Fishes, whereof they have great plenty.

"Their money is for the most part Hollands, and Dutch [i.e. German] money."

"In old time, the Sea about this Coast was well stored, with all common sort of Fishes, ... but all kind of Fishing is greatly decayed here, albeit greater pains is taken by the Fishers now than ever before ... "

" ... But the greatest Advantages Shetland hath, is from the fishing of Herring and Cod, which abounds so there, that great Fleets of the Hollanders come there, and by the order of the States General begin to take Herring, upon St. Johns day, hard by Shetland, with their Bushes.* Which they continue to do from thence alongst the Scots and English coast, till they come over against Yarmouth, and at the same time imploy some Hundreds of Doggers for taking of Cod. And all the Summer the Inhabitants of Shetland about their Isles, beside the Herrings they take, are constantly Imployed in taking Cod and Ling, which they sell to Hamburghers, Bremers, Lubecquers, and to Scots and English, who come there with their Ships, and Hooks, and Lines, for the taking of Cod and Ling, Nets for the taking of Herring, Brandie, and Strong Waters of all sorts; Mead, Strong Beer, Bisket, Wheat-meal, and Rye-meal, Barly, Salt, Tobacco, Fruits of all Sorts, Monmouth caps, and the Courser sort of Cloth and Linen, and such like merchandise: and thus in time of Peace they do flourish, but are at great loss in time of War, wanting both mony and these Commodities the foraigners use to afford to them, and their most subsistence then is from the small trade they drive with their Barks to Norwey, where they buy Timber for their Houses, ready framed, and Dale Boards, and Tar, and Ships, Barks, and Boats of all sorts, and all other Necessaries for their Country, for which last also they trade with their Barks loaden with Fish and Oyl to Scotland, and bring home such Commodities from thence as they want."

Monteith's rambling dissertation suggests that since the period of the early Court Books there had been relatively little change in the social and economic geography of the islands. The scale of the Dutch herring fishing had diminished, but there are indications from other

* Bushes - Busses - herring fishing boats with flat bottoms.

sources that the growth of Lerwick actually accelerated at the end of the seventeenth century (Brand, 1701; Gifford, 1733). The numerous class of servants alluded to by Professor Donaldson is not mentioned - while this alone is inconclusive there is other evidence of an acute shortage of hired labour at the beginning of the eighteenth century. (Gifford, 1733, Appendices)

Monteith's pungent comments on the differing natures of the "British" and "Norwegian" people may be pure personal prejudice, but it is not unlikely that this was a period of tension between the two groups. We note the resort of the "natives" to cunning and artifice in face of the Scots "invaders", and it is perhaps significant that Monteith thought it worthy of note that only those "men of substance" could "promptly speak the Scots tongue". Clearly the "Norwegians" were not yet "worn out" completely, if Monteith is correct in describing them as "richer"; one would expect the incoming Scots of the lower classes to be tenants of Scots lairds rather than Udallers in their own right, and their rent and tax burden would of course have been higher.

One curious feature is the reference to "good butter and cheese". It appears that by the early eighteenth century the art of cheesemaking was lost in Shetland*, perhaps because increasing demands for payments in kind of butter rents and taxes reduced the amount of milk available. Certainly the quality of eighteenth century butter was very poor, but this was due to sabotage and carelessness on the part of the tenants rather than shortage of raw materials.

* Gifford, 1733.

Ones overall impression from Monteith is that even at this early period Shetland, and particularly Lerwick, was a remarkably cosmopolitan place, with metropolitan manners and the beginnings of a money-based economy superimposed on an earlier peasant society. The cultural artefacts and customs of this society were to persist in modified form, but the udaller class as a political force was doomed to disappear much sooner.

Chapter 2:5. The Destruction of the Udaller Class

The personal and family names at the top of the socio-economic pyramid had changed, and more land was coming under the control of fewer and richer family groups, but the daily life of the individual tenants and of the remaining udallers was still governed by lairds and ministers according (in theory) to the ancient rules of the Country Acts. (See Appendix)

A striking feature of this account is the mention of bilingualism; by 1750 the Norn language was almost completely superceded in everyday life by Scots, although a great deal of vocabulary was (and is) retained. Even in 1684 there is a suggestion that undiluted Norn was still predominant only in Unst, and in the northern townships of that island particularly, although the last known legal document written in Norse in Shetland dates from as early as 1607. (Goudie, "Antiquities", 89)

In the opinion of Dr. Samuel Hibbert, a mineralogist who wrote a treatise on Shetland (1822, 64),

"With the change of landed tenures introduced into Orkney and Shetland by the Morton family [in 1648 and 1664], and the subsequent annexation of these islands to the Crown in 1669, the history of the udallers properly terminates."

There were still certain ecclesiastical matters to be regularised: in 1700 a commission was sent by the General Assembly to Shetland on a (successful) mission to persuade the local ministers of the utility of presbyterian government. One of the Commissioners, the Rev. John Brand, left a diary of the visit which adds greatly to our knowledge of Shetland in the last years of "direct rule" by the Crown (Morton was reinstated in 1707), and in the crucial period when the German merchants were winding up their operations in Shetland. He

also gives us the first eye-witness account of the beginnings of a smallpox epidemic which burst upon Shetland at the close of "The Seven Ill Years" of the 1690's.

Brand is the earliest major source of intelligent observation by someone who had no connexion with Shetland prior to his visit*, and his diary merits some quotation, particularly as copies of the work are now very rare. He reported to the General Assembly that,

"English is the common language among them yet many of the people speak Norse or corrupt Danish, especially such as live in the northern isles, yea so ordinary is it in some places that it is the first language the children speak ... Several here also speak good Dutch, even servants, though they have never been out of the country, because of the many Dutch ships ... Some speak all three languages."
(Brand, 1701, 104)

He noted with approval that,

"The people ... are not so rustick and clownish as would be expected ... which may be much owing to their commerce with strangers ... They are also very fashionable in their clothes, and the gentry want not their fine stuffs, such as Holland, Hamburgh etc do afford ... "
(Ibid, 100)

Brand's account of trade and the state of local finance is especially pertinent to this study;

"Besides their trade with foreign merchants, they do likewise drive a great trade with Orkney, from which every year several boats do pass laden with corns, meal, malt etc., upon the coming whereof they often wait for barley seed, tho' last year [1699] they had a considerable crop, so that the [local] barley seed was sown before the boats came over ... "

"Hence, every year considerable sums of money go from Zetland to Orkney, and some have told me <u>that most of the money they have in Orkney, is from Zetland</u>. So great is the advantage that these isles do reap by their neighbourly commerce with one another, for as Zetland could not well live without Orkney's corns, so neither could Orkney be so well without Zetland's money."

* For this reason he is sometimes criticised for credulity.

"As Orkney have much of their money from Zetland, so Zetland have all theirs from foreign nations ... the Dutch money doth ordinarily pass among them, as stivers, half-stivers, and since the rates of money were raised in Scotland, many here have been the considerable gainers by the ducket-douns, which is the species of money the Hollanders bring more ordinarily with them."

(Ibid, 110, 111)

"The greatest confluence of strangers makes kine, sheep, hens and almost all victuals to sell at a greater rate, than in Orkney, for often when the busses are here, they will give double or triple for a sheep, or a hen, than it is to be bought in Orkney for, for the Hollanders ... send sometimes ashore to buy fresh meats, which if to be had, they will not want for the price."

" ... Hamburgh Beer both small and strong is to be had in plenty tho' at a good rate 6 shillings or 8 shillings [scots] our pint ... which beer and other liquors, as also wheatbread, the Hamburghers bring with them in the month of May for sale, hence sometimes liquors &c ... cannot be had for money, till the Hamburghers bring it."

(Ibid, 115)

Brand was intrigued by the rapid growth of Lerwick, which he attributed to the influx of Scots since the 1670's.

"So that, in all Lerwick, the most considerable town in the country, there are but very few whose grandfathers lived in these isles. And in Lerwick itself about 30 years ago [ca.1670] there were only 4 houses, and some years before there were none at all, tho' now there are between 2 and 3 hundred families in it."

(Ibid, 105)

His account of the 1700 smallpox epidemic is discussed in Chapter 6 below; a further burden on these exploited and overtaxed was their vulnerability to attack in time of war, despite the fort at Lerwick.

"Their contrey lying very open, and in many places but thinly inhabited exposeth them to the hostile incursions of pirates in time of war, as of late the Frenches did much infest their coasts, some of their men landing did by shot kill their kine and sheep, and take them away with them; yea they sometimes spared not the churches but sacreligiously robbed them, pulling down the timber thereof as seats etc and taking them for burnwood; ... but they never came into Bressay Sound, lest they had been locked up within the land, the winds turning contrary."

(Ibid, 124)

Chapter 2:6. 1712 And All That ...

The treaty of Union had direct and unfortunate side-effects on Shetland for,

"In 1707, Queen Anne, notwithstanding the former solemn annexations of Orkney and Shetland to the Crown, yielded to the importunity of James, Earl of Morton, who had been one of the commissioners for the treaty of Union, and made a new grant of the islands in his favour, but still in the form of a mortgage, redeemable in the payment of £30,000 sterling, and subject to an annual feu-duty of £500 sterling. The Earl had "full power", as the charter specified, "to enter and receive the heritable vassals who now actually hold of her Majesty and Crown, and their heirs, and to grant charters and insestments." He also obtained a lease of the unappropriated part of the lands of the Church, as well as of those teinds which had devolved to the Crown, by virtue of the exchange, a century before, of certain lands of the king for others of the bishopric. The Earl of Morton was at the same time elected heritable Steward and Justiciar of Orkney and Shetland: he was authorised to appoint deputies for the administration of justice, according to the practice of Scotland; and it appears that he retained a few of the subordinate forms of the ancient legislature of the country (i.e. the Country Acts). He was made Vice-Admiral of Orkney and Shetland, with all the powers of judicature in the maritime affairs of the country, and with a donation of the rights of Admiralty. Lastly, the Earl had conferred upon him the right of patronage to the kirks of Shetland and Orkney, which privilege was taken from the Presbytery, and reckonned a great greivance. A Commissary was retained, who was a judge in consistorial affairs. The revenue accruing from every source of emolument enumerated was about £3,000 sterling per annum." (my emphasis) (Hibbert, 1822, 66)

This turn of events was not immediately obnoxious to all of the lairds. The Mouats of Garth had been involved in legal disputes with udallers over "gripping" lands in 1706 (No. 195), and in the same year were showing an anxiety to have their lands, howsoever acquired, confirmed by charter (No. 193). Morton had promised the Queen that he would do something about repopulating the lands that had fallen "ley" (i.e. untenanted) in the hard times at the turn of the century, and no doubt many a laird believed him.* In fact, things became considerably worse for the lairds even before the Salt

* Ley lands were probably very common in Orkney also at this time - see Clouston, 1919, 35.

Tax of 1712 finally disrupted the pattern of trade that had existed in Shetland since the early sixteenth century.

The printed source nearest to the events of 1712 is Thomas Gifford of Busta's "An Historical Description of the Zetland Islands" written as a private memorandum in 1733 for the benefit of Morton's heir, and not published until 40 years later. Gifford was the only Whig and Hanoverian laird in Shetland, the rest being Tory and covertly Jacobite in sympathies (Stevenson, 1879); hence his being trusted with the Earl's Shetland estate. He explained the significance of 1712 to his new master;

" ... when the high duty was laid upon foreign salt, and customs house officers sent over [from Scotland], and a customs house settled at Lerwick, these foreigners could not enter, and many of the heritors or landlords, were obliged to turn merchants and export the country products to foreign markets, and had, in return there for money, and such other necessaries as the country could not subsist without."

(Gifford, 1733, 25)

In other words, although Shetland was theoretically part of Scotland it had enjoyed duty-free trade with continental ports before 1712.

Two hundred years later, A.C. O'Dell drew the following conclusion which has become one of the most widely accepted statements about the historical geography of the period;

"The year 1712 introduces the first great plane of cleavage in the economic life of the people. A tariff was imposed on foreign salt and a bounty, or bonus, given on all fish cured by British salt and British merchants. These measures stimulated the Scottish landlords [in Shetland] to take the trade out of the hands of the Dutch and Hanse curers, who until then had controlled the supply of dried fish to the Catholic countries ...

"The landlords from 1712 onwards set up as fish curers and in order to increase the amount of "green" (wet) fish, made it a condition of tenure to the tenants that they should supply ling and cod. Simultaneously they subdivided the crofts until they were too small for subsistence farming and meal had to be bought to eke out the harvest in all but exceptionally good years."

(O'Dell, 1939,192-193)

The accuracy of this statement is examined in more detail in Chapter 5:1 below. It is only necessary here to note that by 1718 Gifford was so concerned to preserve the new arrangements into which he and his contemporaries had been "obliged" to enter that he strongly discouraged an Edinburgh merchant who offered to fill the gap. (R.S. Bruce, 1922). In the same year Robert Mouat, grandfather of our Thomas Mouat of Belmont, expanded his fish trading activities in Yell. Nonetheless the lairds often found difficulty in selling their fish. Goodlad has shown that between 1712 and 1727 fish prices generally were depressed because of the opening up of prolific new grounds off Newfoundland, and has suggested that the period was an "economic vacuum" in Shetland. He also considers that dried salt fish formed a relatively smaller proportion of the value of Shetland's exports than it did later in the century, with butter cargoes being perhaps more important. (Goodlad, 1971, 92-93). This was a period of expensive experiments in strange markets before the lairds had arranged satisfactory factoring facilities with Scots and English merchant houses.

One way of solving the problem was to continue to trade with the Germans despite the English legislation now governing Scottish trade. Both the Mouats and the Hendersons of Gardie adopted this course, the latter sending two sons, Magnus and William, to Hamburg in the early 1720's to be apprenticed to German merchants. The younger son complained that he was not allowed enough money to keep up the social appearances necessary for success in Hamburg merchant circles. (GP 1725). Their father was then trading in partnership with another laird, Arthur Nicolson of Lochend (Northmavine); among his papers are to be found instructions to his partner for dealing with the German merchants on a visit to Hamburg in 1717. (No. 216).

In that year he was recovering from the disasters of 1716, when he had reported to the Earl of Morton that because of bad weather the fishing was completely ruined and he was unable to load his ship "William of Bressay" for Hamburg "as usual". The problem with the new arrangement was that unless a merchant was willing to winter in Hamburg (the North Sea was in those vessels virtually impassable from October to April) he would only receive supplies in Shetland when his ships returned from selling the previous summer's catch in Germany. Thus he had to estimate his requirements for fishing gear and consumer goods a year in advance, and he could not return unsold goods to the Germans as he had done when they had come to Shetland. Estimates often went wide of the mark, as in 1725 when Thomas Mouat of Uyeasound (1680-1767) failed to retail half of the goods he had ordered from Frans Caspar Doninberg in Hamburg, despite the fact that it was otherwise a prosperous season. (No. 253).

It is clear that the vacuum created serious financial difficulties for almost all lairds; Sinclair of Quendale was in bad trouble with Edinburgh creditors in 1716 (No. 214), and the Hendersons were frantically trying to recover debts owed them in 1716-1719. In 1722 William Henderson's position was strengthened by a new partnership with Gifford of Busta as joint farmers of the Earl of Morton's rents. Busta also urged Henderson to take out a Charter of Confirmation on his lands in the precarious year of 1719 (No. 227).

Similarly, by 1720 Thomas Mouat had strengthened his position by building a new booth for stores at Uyeasound, and in 1724 he inherited his cousin Robert Mouat's Burravoe business in Yell.

The increasing confidence of the Henderson family is shown by the construction of Gardie House, begun in 1724. (In that year some of the lairds were sufficiently bold to litigate against the

Customs' officers for alleged incompetence and obstruction because they tried to implement the British laws to the letter. (No. 245)). Magnus Henderson consolidated his estate in 1725 by a judicious marriage to the heiress of the Mitchell of Girlsta lands, and by a further flurry of actions against petty debtors. (No. 247). In 1727 he was alleged to have concluded an unfair bargain with a fellow merchant-laird, Scott of Scalloway, for a lease of (Henderson's) fishings and beaches in Bressay. It is perhaps significant that this agreement was concluded in the very year when the British government offered for the first time a bounty on dried salted fish for export. It is possible that this was the incentive that led Scott to bid for the lease. (No. 551).

Chapter 2:7: "Fulness of Bread and Plenty ... "

The troubles that stimulated these various new partnerships and financial arrangements were exacerbated by a smallpox epidemic in 1720, so virulent that it was ever afterwards referred to as "the mortal pox". It probably killed a fifth of the inhabitants (see Chapter 6 below) and one of the consequences was a continued shortage of labour in the mid 1720's. In November 1725, at the half-yearly Head Court held at Burravoe by Gifford of Busta, the lairds and ministers tackled this and other problems. (Gifford, 1733, Appendices VII & VIII).

They decided to establish "A Society for the Regulation of Servants and Reformation of Manners" composed of the ministers and major heritors. Their resolutions make interesting reading;

"That amongst the many gross sins and immoralities which abound in Zetland, that of servants' unfaithfulness, negligence and disobedience to their Masters, is none of the least common, together with sabbath-breaking, cursing, swearing, ignorance, irreligion, stealing, lying, adultery, fornication, malice, envy, covetousness, drunkenness, disobedience to parents, and that abomination, fewds betwixt husband and wife, turning even to sinful separation with some."

Prophesying divine intervention they ascribed this scandalous state of affairs to;

"As first, ignorance of God, and the principles of our holy religion, which leadeth many into a contempt of and slighting the Gospel and ordinances thereof.

"2nd, fulness of bread and plenty, which the Lord hath been pleased to continue for some time, sadly and sinfully abused by the generality of the ingrateful receivers thereof.

"3rd, Negligence and slackness in the magistrate, the minister, the elder, the rancelman [local constable], and the masters of families, in the zealous, prudent, and conscientious performance of their respective duties.

"4th, Criminal neglect of parents in the education of their children; not a few such unnatural parents there are, who do not only slight the opportunity good providence hath laid to their hand of having their children at least taught to read the holy scriptures, but are also at no pains to have them trained up in the knowledge of our holy

religion, nor to acquaint them with that honest labour and industry which might put them in a capacity to earn their bread, when grown up, and make them useful in the place where they live, it being rather the practice of many graceless parents by their evil example to poison their children with many vicious habits, or at least bringing them up in sloth and ignorance, allowing them to do what they please, and thereby not only ruining their children, but also bringing themselves under the guilt of perjury.

"5th, the frequent marriages of such as have no visible stock whereupon to subsist, many young fellows having no sooner got whole clothes, but they imagine themselves too genteel to serve, and being once married and set up for themselves, [they think] they can live as they list; and thus many such are quickly reduced, either to extreme poverty, or tempted to bad practices, whereby also a generation of idle beggars is produced, and the families of honest and industrious people are reduced and brought low for want of servants."

The remedy was the usual one; The Country Acts were re-enacted, fines were increased, and the rights of search of the rancelmen (appointed by the clergy and heritors) were publicly reinforced. Servants (a term that included farm labourers and paid fishermen as well as house-servants) were bound not to leave their masters without notice, and to behave themselves better in general, but there were also penalties for masters who illtreated their servants or broke the conditions of their (verbal) contracts. Marriages of those who had not goods and gear to the value of £40 scots, or "a trade whereby to subsist", were forbidden. "Inticing" of other people's servants was to stop, and some effort was made to redistribute the scarce labour that was available.

Thus,

"10. That none shall keep more servants or working people in their families than what they have an absolute occasion for, while others want servants; but that the society ... appoint them to part with such as they see needful, for the supply of such as want ...

"11. That in such families where they have no servants but their own children, that some of those children be appointed to other service, and if need be, appoint them a servant in place of the child or children so removed, so as there may be at least one servant in a family, besides the children ...

"12. That none entertain in their families idle persons that are capable to work, nor such as are called house-folk."

The supply of labour for the fishing was also closely regulated, although there is no clear evidence here that fishing was explicitly required as a condition of tenure:

"25. For the encouragement of the fishing, upon which the general benefit of the country very much depends, that every householder who is not a fisher, and having servants or sons capable to go to sea, be allowed to go with any fisher that wants them, for reasonable fees, the months of May, June and July, the one half of which fees so earned belong to the master, the other half to the servant, beside his whole ordinary fee; and that the society ... appoint reasonable fees for all servants both for land and sea service, so as masters may not be imposed upon nor servants defrauded of what is their due."

(My emphasis)

These regulations seem to have been designed for the convenience not only of the prominent laird-merchants, but also for the owner-occupier "udaller" farmers and for the "fishers"; this suggests that the patriarchal and relatively independent small householders were still an important and numerous group. There is every sign that there were not enough landless poor to go round, yet there is no indication of the subdivision of farms and encouragement of early marriages that was noted by such later critics as the Bressay minister who wrote the Statistical Account of 1792. (see below) On the contrary, early marriages of the landless poor were actively discouraged in 1725. The basic paradox of this attitude in a labour-scarce society was to become obvious to the lairds as the century wore on and high moral tones were laid aside, for the poor at least.

There is a suggestion in the "fulness of bread and plenty" remark, that the mid 1720's were a period of relative prosperity. It is noticeable that the lower orders appear to have been most uncooperative at a time when their conditions were perhaps somewhat better than in the previous 20 years. In "normal" times the consequences of early marriages of impoverished and improvident young couples would not merely have been "extreme poverty" or "bad practices",

neither of which were unusual in eighteenth century Shetland, but utter destitution and "quartering" on the parish. There was an obvious conflict between the spirit of the young poor, which could only find constructive expression when the possibility of improvement was perceived, and the servant labour shortages of the udaller and landlord classes, which were most acute at precisely the same periods of relative and temporary prosperity. In general we find that in eighteenth and nineteenth century Shetland the periods of dearth and misery are marked by sporadic and apparently desperate acts of defiance by individuals rather than any widespread resistance to forced labour and other aspects of the social system. (Smith, 1971).

It is clear from these "Regulations" alone that even the poorest landowners had almost total control over the lives of their dependants and employees. It is therefore meaningless to suggest that "fishing tenures" could have been an unprecedented innovation.

Any landlord could have "made it a condition of tenure" to supply fish at any time before 1886. The evidence discussed in Chapter 5:1 suggests that fishing tenures, if they existed at all, were not widely or rigorously enforced in the first half of the eighteenth century, but developed in the late 1750's or early 1760's.

No further mention is recorded in the Gardie Papers of the Society for the Regulating of Servants and Reformation of Manners, though no doubt the tenants and the poor heard plenty of it. The "fulness of bread and plenty" did not last long, as the ministers had foretold, and life returned to "normal" in the periodic dearths of the 1730's.

At least one laird thought that his contemporaries were not keeping their half of the "bargain" of 1725; Thomas Gifford of Busta

told the Earl of Morton in 1733 that

"The landlords generally take the wrong way for encouraging the tenants to improve the lands; for it is the common practice with many of them, if they see the tenant thriving, and by his industry becoming richer than his neighbours, he must be warned to remove, unless he will pay more rentyearly, or a larger entry for a short tack; and when that tack is out, he is again where he was, and must pay a new entry or remove. This makes many tenants careless, nay even averse to remove; whereas, were those tenants that are frugal and industrious, encouraged by long tacks, and entitled to the benefits of their own improvements during the improver's life, without any augmentation of the rent, the landlord, after the improver's death, might set that land to another for a greater rent than it formerly paid, and might give the next tenants the same encouragement to improve."

(My emphasis)

This vicious circle was closely linked with the amount of land that was untenanted (see Chapter 6); in the early eighteenth century a large proportion of the land was "ley"; in 1718 it was as high as 25% of all the land in Unst. The response of the lairds was to maximise revenue from the land that was occupied (remembering that, if Dr. Goodlad is correct, agricultural production was as important as fishing in this period); this was often done by tampering with the weights and measures for payments in kind, as well as by the more direct methods outlined by Gifford. The land was rarely adequately fenced in, let alone fallowed and it became progressively poorer until it had to be rested because it would no longer produce enough to make it worth cultivating; i.e. it became ley.

Gifford was at pains to present himself to his new lord as the champion of all classes; as in his description of the fishing arrangements for 1733;

" ... the prime cost of fish here being very dear, and a standing price which the fishers will not alter; (viz) 3d. each ling, 1½d. each cod and five shillings sterling each barrel of herrings, considering the great fatigue and charge the poor fishermen are at, and the small quantity they catch, they cannot afford to sell them cheaper; however, at such a prime cost, with the value of the salt, and cash and charges in curing them; and that foreign markets often

prove very precarious, the exporters seldom make much on these goods exported; nay, when ship's freight and charges are deducted, they oftener lose than gain; but the bounty money allowed upon fish exported helps to stop some of the charges, otherwise they could not be able to carry on the trade, as markets have been abroad for several years past, that neither fish, butter nor oil, has given any price."

(My emphasis)

Chapter 2:8. Udal and Feudal

Much of the material preserved at Gardie from the period 1720 - 1740 consists of papers relating to the interminable feuds between the rival lairds over land and money. The sheer volume of these documents is more significant than the details of individual cases. Nonetheless there are several manuscripts that should be mentioned; for example, Thomas Gifford's Rental of Shetland ("Busta's Rental") prepared for Morton in 1733 and later referred to by most lairds as the most authoritative rental available, right up to the first attempt at a regular valuation of lands, in 1825.

This rental is analysed in ~~TABLE NO. 502.~~ Graph (a)

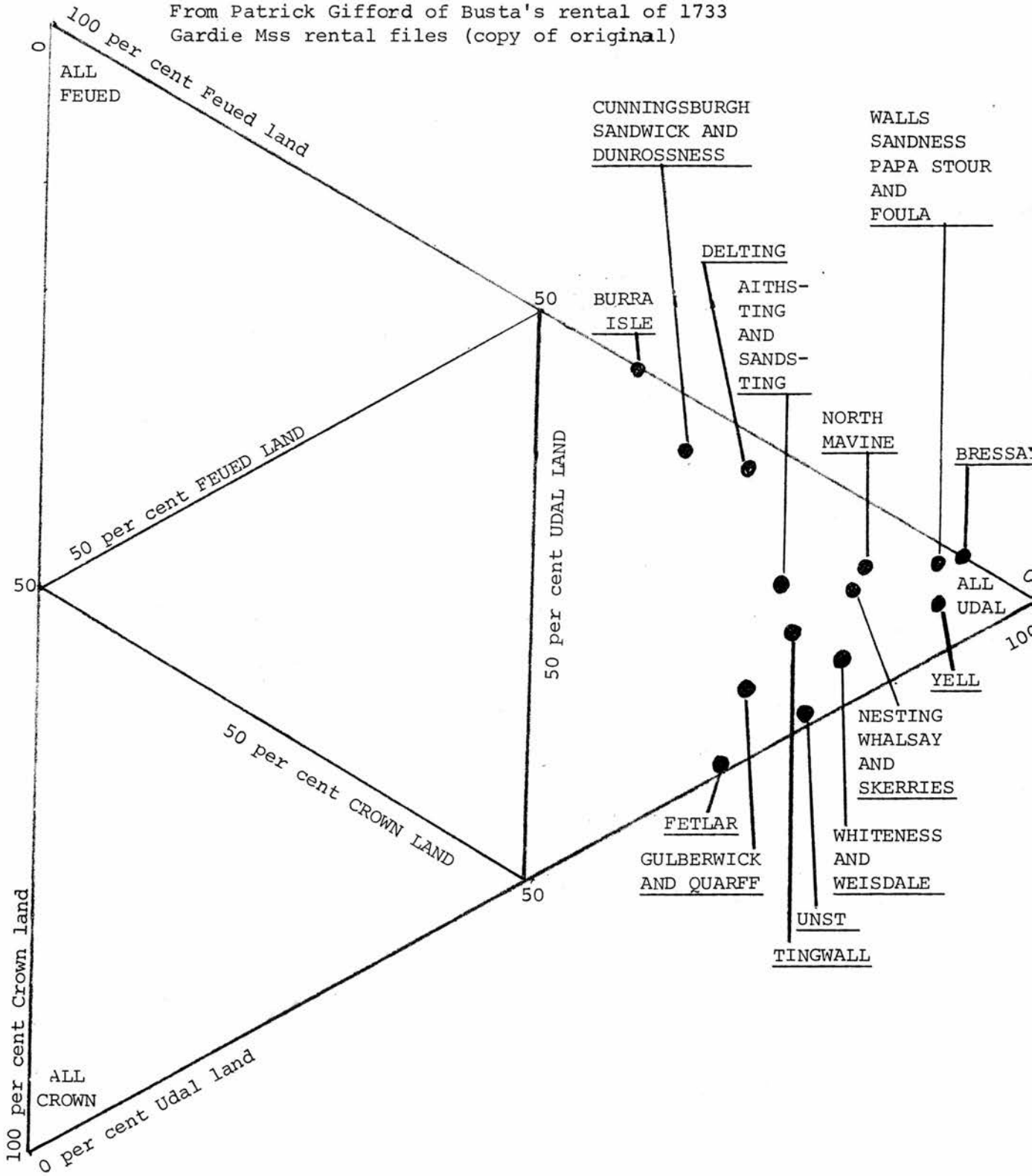
The most striking feature is the quantity of udal land surviving in every parish; even in the southern districts of Dunrossness, Sandwick, Cunningsburgh, Gulberwick, Burra and in the fertile island of Fetlar, the proportion was nowhere less than 60%. In general there was a higher proportion of udal land in the more northerly and less fertile districts although Bressay was a southerly exception with no less than 93% udal. (N.B. Cunningsburgh was also probably an exception but this is not clear from this data because it is lumped together with two larger and more feudal parishes.) Of course, udal land does not mean udal tenure. When a udaller sold his land it was still classified "udal", and nearly all the large estates contained a preponderance of "udal" land, including some "feued udal land" upon which charters had been taken out.

The feued lands were mostly feued out in 1664 and after Morton's return in 1707, yet by 1733 they still appeared remarkably limited in extent. Again there were distinct contrasts between different districts; the amount of feued land was highest in the

UDAL, FEUED AND CROWN LANDS IN SHETLAND, 1733 graph (a)

Showing the proportion of land in each parish or group of parishes that was classified as udal, feued or crown land.

From Patrick Gifford of Busta's rental of 1733
Gardie Mss rental files (copy of original)



southernmost parishes except, probably, Cunningsburgh, in Burra (uncomfortably close to Scalloway Castle), and in Delting, a parish in the heart of the Shetland mainland.

The "Crown Lands" represent the old Crown estates plus some of those holdings acquired by the Stuart earls in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, plus some church lands forfeited to the crown at the Reformation and in 1697. In the fertile parishes of Unst, Tingwall, Fetlar, Whiteness and Weisdale, and Gulberwick, the Crown lands greatly exceeded the feued; this suggests that the Stuarts had a more drastic effect on the ownership of land than the charter-mongers who followed them; at least, this was the case in 1733.

Chapter 2:9. "The Vortex of False Weights"

Thomas Mouat's father William Mouat (1714 - 1790) left us few records of his early career; from the Gardie Papers we can tell that in 1739 he was a merchant in Uyeasound (No. 311) and in 1740 he was described as a "shipmaster". He was influential in the unsuccessful attempt of 1742 to obtain a parliamentary valuation for Shetland, with the view to obtaining the vote for the landed classes.*

After the failure of this attempt at cooperative effort the lairds again concentrated on their own squabbles; in 1743 Nicolson of Lochend began a celebrated six year long process against his cousin James Henderson of Gardie, which resulted in Gardie's "living from the little profits he makes out of Bressay and Noss." (No. 388).

The next experiment in mutual assistance involved not only the Shetland lairds but also their Orkney counterparts, who in 1750 put up most of the money for a battle in the Court of Session concerning the payment of skatt and feu duties.

> "The landholders of Orkney (supported by those of Shetland) ... brought an action against Lord Morton (who in 1748 had been deprived of the heritable jurisdiction of the islands and compensated with £7,200 sterling) to have it found that the Skat was the old Danish land-tax, and had ceased from the year 1667, when their lands paid supplies by assessment, with the rest of the kingdom. His Lordship denied that skat was of the nature of a land tax ... the Lords gave no judgement upon the point; but, sustaining the general defence of proscription, they assoilzied the defender [in 1752] from the conclusions of the declarator in respect to skat duties."
>
> (Laing & Forbes, 1836)
> (My emphasis)

* Robert Dick of Fracafield travelled to London at the expense of his fellow lairds (he was almost penniless himself) to petition the House of Commons; alas, in the hubbub following the fall of Walpole the members' attention was wholly occupied and the bill failed to get through. No fewer than five attempts were made, in 1765, 1779, 1791, 1795 and 1809, but all failed and all cost a great deal of "public subscription"; not until 1832 were the lairds given the vote. (Nos. 449;1, 219;1, 819;etc)

In other words Morton could not prove his case and the lairds won a moral if not a financial victory. More importantly, they had a public platform to air "The General Greivances and Oppressions of the isles of Orkney and Shetland" - the title of a paper prepared for them by James Mackenzie, W.S., which was deliberately evocative of the complaints against Bruce of Cultmalindie in the 1570's. The document is invaluable as a detailed summary of the changes from 1469 to 1750 in the management and collection of rents, skatt, other duties, and of the weights and measures for payments in kind.

Mackenzie did not mince his words;

"It seems a prodigy in the government of Scotland ... that the isles of Orkney and Shetland, that valuable limb of the British dominions, (if so indeed they may rightfully be counted) and capable of being rendered the most beneficial to Great Britain, perhaps of any part of these kingdoms, should yet for near 300 years have been continually sacrificed to some inconsiderable profit, or to the support of some necessitous ... court favourite, for the most part without any profit at all."

(Mackenzie, 1750, 21)

"Since the first moment of their connexion with Scotland, the public revenue arising out of them ... has never almost been in collection for the Crown, as at all times it ought to have been ... but either let out to destroying farmers ... or what was fully as improper, dol'd away to craving and mostly indigent courtiers (like the two Earls of Orkney) ... "

(Ibid, 78)

Turning to the more recent past, he complained that,

" ... under the late Earls of Morton, viz. from the year 1707, so untenable have the weights been, and so extravagant their motions, that almost all this period, having lost their proportions, they have been out of ken."

(Ibid, 79-80)

"In the year 1661, when the landlords were enrolled in order to a supply which was then to be levied, their whole number, in the Orkneys alone ... amounted to 776 ... At present their whole number does not exceed 155 ... And if we take this along with us, that the heritage of the landlord seldom went to one son, but was divided amongst all the sons" [not strictly correct], "we may fairly conclude, that since the year 1661 about nine tenths of the landlords both of Orkney and Shetland, have been sunk in the vortex of false weights.

And that by the same means, if the rest are not timeously relieved, they must soon be devoured also, may be plainly foreseen:"
(Ibid, 83-84)

"But another effect, more dreadful than this, is the mighty decrease of the rest of the inhabitants, to the no small detriment of the nation in general, being thereby deprived of one of its best sources of hardy and adventurous seamen ..."
He claimed that " ... the number of inhabitants in Shetland must have greatly decreased since 1686" on the evidence that the value of the duties paid on ales, spirits, soap, candles, leather, malt, etc. in 1750 was only half that on ales and spirits alone in 1686.

Ignoring the fact that in the interval the German merchants had ceased to visit Shetland in person, he went on to claim that the number of ships owned locally had also decreased, for,

"While the natural commodities of the country were of use to it, the inhabitants had the means of traffic; but when most of its productions were turned into one destructive channel [i.e. the Mortons and their predecessors] and this chiefly by the drain of false weights, a loss of trade became the necessary consequence."
(Ibid, 86)

It is an intriguing possibility that the reason the Germans neglected the trade in the 1690's was the parasitic effect of the rent farmers on the amount of goods available for trade, but even the rent farmers had to sell their ill-gotten gains somewhere and the evidence from the Gardie papers is that in the late 1680's they were still dealing actively with the Germans in Shetland. We should note that Robert Barclay of Almeriecloss, one of Morton's "men of business" who dealt with revenues from Shetland, was a merchant in Hamburg and Gothenburg in his own right, and the founder of one of the Scots merchant houses that ran Shetland's trade with the lairds after the Treaty of Union.

Mackenzie left unprinted the second half of his vituperative and well-documented paper, but the last paragraph of the incomplete work is typical:

"From all of which it appears, that the use of paying skatt, after the imposition of assessments [in 1667], was not a voluntary thing, but the product of injustice and oppression; such cruel oppression as can be compared to nothing but the arbitary spirit of Turky [sic]. And as no law can support this, even Jupiter's lap being no sanctuary for oppression, the Earl Cannot avail himself of it."

(Ibid, 112)

The failure of this well-prepared action effectively deterred any further resistance; it was twenty years before the lairds of Shetland again took the matter to law, this time against Sir Laurence Dundas, to whom Morton sold his property in 1766 for £60,000 sterling, because it "became so troublesome to him". (Hibbert, 1822, 68). Thus the Shetland lairds had the satisfaction, albeit belated, of seeing the last of Morton, but their feuds with Dundas were to be just as bitter and protracted.

One of the reasons that the 1750 case went so far was the amount of money spent on it by the Orcadians. They were always better off than the Shetlanders despite their shortages of actual specie and the Shetland laird who might have been expected to be most active in the case, Gifford of Busta*, was distracted by other matters. In the spring of 1748 all his four sons were drowned with their tutor in a boating accident, one of the most extraordinary calamities ever to occur to a landowning family in Shetland. The subsequent feuding over the inheritance continued on and off for over a hundred years.

This singular accident had far-reaching consequences for the Mouat family also; Thomas Mouat was born two months after the tragedy, and Gifford's wife, the formidable "Lady Busta", took a

* Thomas Mouat of Belmont's contemporary Gideon Gifford eventually inherited Busta as the son by a secret marriage of one of the drowned - a succession that occasioned a great deal of litigation.

maternal interest in Thomas to the extent of becoming his benefactrix and paying for much of his education at Aberdeen University.

Thomas Mouat's father was establishing himself as a power in the land in the late 1750's, but his resources were slender compared with the wealthier Shetland magnates', let alone most landowners' in mainland Scotland, so the assistance in educating his son and heir was most welcome.

Chapter 2:10. William Mouat and the Economic Revival

In 1756 William Mouat became Tacksman of Excise for Unst (No. 354), an influential and profitable position. In 1758 Morton made him a Sheriff-substitute, and in the same year he was first off the mark in the competition for land in Uyeasound.

In that year the merchants and merchant-lairds began to quarrel over rights to beaches, adjacent enclosures and trading booths there (No. 376 etc). Goodlad considers that the fishing trade of Shetland, after "a period of stagnation" in the first half of the eighteenth century, revived in the late 1750's. New developments in the 1740's - larger boats and new fishing gear - enabled the fishermen to exploit new grounds further offshore - as much as 40 miles out. At the same time as this "far haaf" fishery developed, Leith began to replace Hamburg as the main destination for Shetland fish. (See Chapter 5).

Further evidence of the increased investment in fishing comes from Bressay, where in 1748 James Henderson's lawyer suggested that he offer for sale a lease of the fishings of Bressay and Noss, with the beach and booth at Heogan. Gardie resisted this necessity until 1759, (the year that William Mouat built his new booth in Unst) when he set the lease to the upstart merchant Peter Innes (later the proprietor of the Fracafield estate, following the ruin of the Dick family). The Bressay fishings proved their value - Gardie forced his tenants to deliver their fish to Innes - and when they were taken back into his own personal management in 1770, a friend congratulated him on his financial hindsight; "It's what you should have done long ago." (No. 716).

This apparent revival in economic activity suffered a

temporary setback with the smallpox epidemic of 1760. One of those it carried off was a rival of William Mouat - Robert Ross of Hoversta in Uyeasound. His was one of the last great wakes in Shetland - the heirs bought £350 scots worth of supplies for it, and feuded with William Mouat over the bill for the next thirty years! An account of the financial interelationships of the landowning families at this period is in William Sandison's "A Shetland Merchant's Daybook in 1762", (Lerwick, 1934), a useful study of the daily transactions of Arthur Nicolson of Lochend, by then trading from his booth in Lerwick.

The unpredictability of the merchant-lairds' fortunes is illustrated in the attempts by this same Nicolson to ruin James Henderson yet again the following year. Gardie had the case against him quashed because his answers to Nicolson's charges for debt had been lost, in the capture of the "packet" by privateers while en route for Leith and the Court of Session. Once more Gardie's estate was preserved for the Mouats, for had it fallen to the Nicolsons they had every intention of disinheriting their elder sister Elizabeth, who married Thomas Mouat in 1776. From this and other documents it is evident that family feuds became even more bitter in the period of economic growth in the 1760's.

The lairds also renewed their squabbles with the Customs officials in Lerwick, who began to tighten up on smuggling in 1764. They insisted that all imports and exports had to be "cleared" (which meant physical unloading) at Lerwick and re-shipped to the local "creeks" at Burravoe, Uyeasound, etc. This cost the lairds extra freight, reduced the workload and travelling time of the Customs officers, and aroused bitter complaints. William Mouat was active in pressing for the easing of this restriction, which was lifted in 1766, only to be reimposed in 1769.

In 1763 William Mouat was asked by his acquaintance Dr. Thomas Campbell of Edinburgh, to answer "Some queries respecting Shetland". His reply was used as the basis for a revision of Campbell's own writings on Shetland. This manuscript, (No. 437) is largely in the form of a "Statistical Account", and is particularly detailed for Unst. It includes comments on livestock numbers and prices, agricultural practices, teinds, fish exports etc. He complained of the effects of the herring fishing,

" ... from which the inhabitants ... derive no benefit nor advantage, but what is more than overballanced by the disturbances the local fishing boats meet with from these Busses, especially from the Hollanders, who often destroy a boat's whole outrig."

He lamented the Shetlander's failure to engage in the herring fishing, which he attributed to lack of capital, but another factor was shortage of labour;

"The reason of this isle [Unst] not being more populous, is that shipping coming often here, and the youth being generally of spirit, and seeing the sunshine days of seafaring, many go abroad, and are often either voluntarily or ignorantly drawn to the more southern voyages of Affrica and the Indies, and rarely ever more heard of, few having returned; which indeed is the case of the whole country in general, tho' more go from here than any other part."

On the strength of their literary correspondence, William Mouat solicited Campbell's support in the battle to get the creeks reinstated. He claimed that the ruling was ruining the fishing, and encouraging smuggling rather than preventing it. He also sought his assistance when the agitation for a parliamentary valuation was renewed in 1765. This agitation included the remarkable suggestion that a full feudal system of land tenure on the Scottish pattern should be introduced to Shetland: William Mouat's ancestor James Mowat of Ollaberry, who had refused even to pay cess, must have turned in his grave.

The following spring the lairds' attention was diverted by the

threat of riots among the lower orders. While it is important to avoid the assumption that every disturbance contained the seeds of potential revolution, the situation in 1766 was extremely volatile. A severe food shortage was felt in most of Shetland, accompanied by bad weather and heavy losses of livestock. (Nos. 451, 452). James Nicolson of Gloup (Yell) warned Sheriff substitute Mouat that "in the calamitous state" of the country it seemed likely that the starving people would shortly take food by force from merchants and others who were hoarding it; already there had been a case of malicious damage - one John Clerk and his mother had smashed up a laird's fishing boat. He complimented Mouat on his foresight in releasing cash for food supplies to his "poorer neighbours", and commented favourably on the arrival of the first of the Greenland ships on their way north from England and Scotland, "although I never welcomed them before", because they would at least relieve the pressure on supplies, if only by recruiting men who would otherwise have been more "profitably" employed in fishing and farming at home.

Perhaps because of Mouat's judicious containment of the situation in the spring, later that year he was appointed as Justice of the Peace for Unst, a position that gave him real power over tenants and rival lairds alike. The following year his status was enhanced further by the inheritance of a sizeable estate from his father's cousin Thomas Mouat of Garth; thus the estate reverted to the "rightful line".

Mouat and his contemporaries came under renewed pressure in 1769 with the bankruptcy of Messrs. Hogg & Son, a firm of Edinburgh merchants with whom most of them had connexions, if only for the exchange of bills. (No. 522). It may be no coincidence that in the same year the once-great estate of Quendale also went broke and was finally sold up.

Trade with Leith had expanded considerably during the 1760's, and that with Hamburg had correspondingly declined; the collapse of Hoggs aggravated the situation caused by the reimposition of customs restrictions.

William Mouat was almost certainly the draftsman of a further petition from the lairds, this time to Colonel Thomas Dundas M.P., brother of Sir Lawrence, who had recently acquired Morton's lands and "superiorities". Mouat complained of

"Land taxes, excise, duties and customs ... burdens these islands will never be able to bear, and must keep the inhabitants in a perpetual state of poverty. Wherfore every duty of customs and excise for such things as as necessaries for our fishing, and support the inhabitants only, ought to be discontinued. It is indeed true that til of late the revenue officers were so sensible of the inability of the country to pay customs or excise, that they exercised their power with humanity and sympathy, but now yaughts, cutters, ships of war etc., strangers to the condition of the country, greedily set upon a trifle of grain, and harass us in every place, and take even trifles with a rigour and behaviour that is a scandal to human nature."
(G.P. 1769)

The fishermen ought to have spirits "without duties ... and this allowance portioned to the landholders, only by them to be disposed of to the fishers." Fishing gear, etc., "ought to be free of duty, and in the same hands. So the benefit would be general, and smuggling which is so much complained of would in a short time be absolutely prevented, as the heritors having what is necessary for carrying on the fishing in their own hands, their interest would soon prompt them to do their duty in preventing others from importing superfluities to debauch the persons and consume the substance of their tenants."

"This," he concluded, "would be equally beneficial to every landholder alike, without exception."

The unspoken conclusion is that the landless merchants, the "others", would be put out of the "superfluities" business, both legal and smuggled. This document is a thinly-veiled admission that the landowners were smuggling on a large scale. The authorities must have been amused by the "offer" to stop smuggling in return for the removal of customs duties. They would also have been interested to hear of the humanity and sympathy of the customs officers involved; indeed the news of this understanding behaviour may have prompted the

Commissioners to keep the restrictions in force.

Two very significant developments in this economic revival of the mid-eighteenth century were the establishment of the Free British White Herring Company in Shetland in 1750 and the subsequent arrival of English and Scots merchants who assumed the itinerant role vacated by the Germans at the beginning of the century, and were often connected with merchant houses in Leith and Greenock.

Shirreff (1814) is our most detailed source on the unsuccessful herring company;

"The great branch of this fishery was established by law about the year 1750. The sum subscribed for carrying it on was £110,000, for which they had 3 per cent from government for twenty years; together with 50 shillings sterling per ton for all the vessels they employed upon this fishing, and 2s 8d debenture for every barrel of herrings they exported; and they were all cured with foreign salt, duty free.

"Bressay Sound was their place of rendezvous. They began their fishing with two busses in 1750 or 1751; the year following they increased them to twenty-five busses, and in the year 1754 they were further increased to forty sail for that year only; they were then reduced to twenty-five ... and stood at that number for several years: Thereafter they were reduced to five, and again increased to eight, at which number they stood, until the twenty years were out ([in 1770]), when they gave it up, with the loss of their capital, and all the money they had from government for the encouragement of this very successful branch of business."

(Shirreff, 1814, Appendix 27)

Several Irish fishers had the same idea, and their wherries appeared off the coast of Shetland at about the same time, until they were excluded by a change in the duty on salt for Irish use in 1763. The Irish boats were much complained of locally (see William Mouat's account of Shetland in 1764 - No. 437) and it was said they obstructed local boats at the line and herring fishing.

The rendezvous at Bressay Sound meant opportunities for local merchants, as it had during the Dutch fisheries of the seventeenth century, but it is probable that the appearance of English and Scots merchants was also connected initially with supplying the herring

fleet. "A Native of Zetland" described their arrival in Volume 1 of the Transactions of the Highland Society (1786);

" ... about the year 1763, a company of merchants in London began to purchase, or rather barter, ling fish [in Shetland] for different markets in the Mediterranean, particularly Barcelona.

"They soon discovered that the natives of these islands, from their simplicity and inexperience, might easily be made the dupes of cunning and artifice. Accordingly they lost no time in executing their designs. By bringing in large quantities of cloths and trinkets of all sorts, and exacting double their value, they imposed upon the ignorant natives; who being naturally fond of novelty were more easily induced to swallow the bait. Thus, unhappily for the natives, the scheme which these adventurers had formed of making their fortunes, at their expense, succeeded but too well."

Despite their misgivings the lairds seem to have arrived at an arrangement with these English merchants and the Scots merchants who followed them. The arrangement was, generally speaking, that the merchants were to deal only with the lairds, leaving them to monopolise the dealings with their tenants. The Scots merchants relieved the lairds of the burden of freighting their produce on their own account to the risky markets of Hamburg and the Mediterranean; they purchased the annual production of fish, butter, oil, salted beef and hides and freighted it out at their own risk - only the port of consignment was Leith, not Hamburg.

This system, which was really a more stable version of that operated by the Germans before 1700, survived until the early nineteenth century, when many of the Scots merchants who had settled permanently in Lerwick (the Hays, Ogilvies, Linklaters etc.) once more encroached on the lairds' dealing with individual tenants. After the 1760's Shetland was in closer economic contact with the mainland of Britain than it had ever been before. Not until the great development of the indigenous Shetland herring industry were large scale contacts renewed with German and Baltic markets. (See Goodlad (1971) and Smith (1973) for more informed discussion of this point.)

Chapter 2:11. The Linen Company and the spirit of improvement

In 1768 Robert Barclay, on the pretext of reminiscing about the Hamburg trade, wrote to William Mouat about debts owed him by Bruce of Urie, Mouat's ageing father-in-law; he commented wryly on "what great things your new superior [Dundas] is like to do for you" (No. 508), but the Dundas family, like their predecessors, did very little but collect and augment the rents and duties. William Mouat's constructive suggestions about making Bressay Sound a rendezvous for the winter as well as the summer herring fishery, went unregarded. (No.518). But they could provide jobs, and in 1772 William Mouat's second son, John, was appointed as Surveyor of Customs at Lerwick, in place of an elderly gentleman who had made a mess of his accounts and was kicked out - literally on the street - to make way for the promising boy. Relations between the Mouats and the Customs improved, at least for a time, and it was alleged that John Mouat turned a blind eye to the smuggling by his relations but hounded everyone else, (i.e. the Lerwick merchants). (Innes, Mss, 1776)

If Dundas were not moved by a spirit of improvement (at least in Shetland), the lairds certainly were: In 1770 Sir John Mitchell of Westshore and the Commissioners of Supply wrote to Messrs. Gibson and Balfour, merchants and bankers in Edinburgh, announcing the establishment of a "Company of linen manufacturers in Zetland", and asked them to act as their agents. They secured credit for a voyage to Norway to get building timber for the factory at Catfirth, but the company collapsed after only six years. The treasurer was Thomas Bolt of Cruister and the failure seriously weakened his family, who had been landowners in Bressay since the early sixteenth century. It nearly ruined Sir John Mitchell, and a total of £1,600 sterling was lost in the

scheme. More important, this signal failure gave both merchants and lairds a decided dislike for co-operative investment, and for individual investment in anything other than fishing, land and shops. Shetland's "manufactures" were limited to the traditional coarse woollen socks until the establishment of a straw-plaiting factory at Lerwick in the first decade of the nineteenth century; there was no further attempt to grow or spin flax. (Edmondston, 1809, II, 3-5)

James Henderson of Gardie wisely stayed out of the linen company (as his finances were public knowledge they would probably not have let him in), and his fortunes revived slightly in the early 1770's. He successfully sued William Mouat over a small piece of land, and resisted the encroachments in Bressay by Lerwick merchants who hoped to gain control of part of the island's fisheries. In 1771 he at last felt secure enough to have himself "served heir in special" to his father, (38 years after his death), but he was soon back in the red, inheriting debts from his aunt and incurring the wrath of Mitchell of Westshore.

In 1772 there was renewed "distress" and near famine, according to the Lerwick merchant Andrew Heddell, who said that the shortage was worse than he had ever seen. (No. 559). Unlike 1761-62, this dearth coincided with a poor crop on the mainland of Scotland, and Heddell complained that meal was scarce and dear, for "southern lairds be preventing any supply from coming here ... " Despite such temporary setbacks to productivity, there is evidence that the fisheries were being prosecuted ever more actively, (Goodlad, 1971), though this could equally well be attributed to shortage of fish. Gardie's troubles with "encroachers" were paralleled by a bitter dispute between William Mouat and Bruce of Symbister (Whalsay),

over the ownership of a few stone huts in Skerries, used as a summer fishing station by fishers from many parishes. (No. 561)

Dr. Campbell considered that,

"To facilitate their fishery, magazines should be erected to supply them with all things requisite ... without respect of persons, at equal and at the lowest rates; and means must likewise be found, to enable them gradually to procure larger boats."
(Campbell, 1774, vol I)

Although his revised "Political Survey" was based on William Mouat's letters and on a visit from young Thomas Mouat in 1767, he did not parrot their views when he wrote that,

" ... the people are so addicted to their fishery, and see so little necessity of having so little recourse to this method for subsistence, that they are content, how strange soever that may seem to us, to let four parts in five of their land remain in a state of nature. This is not a greater misfortune to the commons of Shetland, who work hard, and fare yet harder, than to the community ... "
(Ibid) (My emphasis)

LOW'S TOUR

In the same year as Dr. Campbell's production, the Rev. George Low (later minister of Birsay in Orkney) made a "Tour" from Scotland to Orkney and Shetland. In his diary he noted the depressed state of the inhabitants, and it is quite clear that the "fishing tenure" system was by then operating in its complete form - the obligation to fish being explicit and the laird's price-control absolute.

In the west mainland of Shetland he found that;

"The inhabitants complain much of their landlords that they don't give them worth their labour for their fish, and that they are forced out to sea from the time they are able to handle an oar; much out of humour on these accounts, and could they get themselves headed, I believe would emigrate from most parts of the country in shoals."
(Low, 1774, 90) (My emphasis)

Numbers did so later that year, when an emigrant ship called on the way to America, but the American War put a stop to such schemes. In another western district, Sandness, he reported that;

"The ling are sold [by the tenants] for 4d a piece, tusk and cod at 1d or 2d, which low price occasions vast grumblings among the fishermen, who complain that they are ... forced to purchase their boats and every material at the highest price, and after all their expenses and toil have no reward ... The dearth of materials, and the precariousness of the climate, always keep the fishermen in debt, and, if not remedied, must end in the ruin of the fishing altogether. This remedy is not far to seek; it is to give a little more for the fish and every proprietor to pursue his own fishing; for when an island fishing is set to tacksmen, it has always a bad effect; a feeling landlord may sympathise with his tenants, because he does or ought to consider that they are his chief support, but a tacksman seldom goes so far, seldom has any mercy on the poor fisherman, but squeezes them to the utmost."

(Ibid, 120) (My emphasis)

All over Shetland he found that, despite their poverty,

"On holidays the people of all ranks appear neat and clean, but plainly dressed ... ",

but the decline of the Hamburg trade was shown by the fact that they were generally

"without the ornaments of which some years ago they were so extravagantly fond ...

"All ranks here live much on animal food, such as fish, flesh, butter and milk, with little bread, which is supplied in some measure by potatoes. Some are a good deal addicted to dram-drinking, as must be the case in fishing countries ...

"The natives of Shetland marry young, and are very prolific, yet it seems a problem whether they increase or not,,owing to the way of life, many accidents at sea which they meet with, and which shorten many of their days. The smallpox, till of late, was peculiarly fatal."

(Ibid, 94)

Despite the decline of the Hamburg trade Low found that

"nowhere will a stranger be more at a loss than among the vast variety of small and great [coin] found commonly current here."

(Ibid p.68)

This is an interesting parallel with the situation described by the Reverend Brand in 1700.

"The country folks," he wrote "are very smart in their bargains with the Dutch [fishermen]; they are now paid in money for

everything, no such thing as formerly trading one thing for another; almost all of them speak as much Dutch, Danish and Norwegian as serves the purpose of buying and selling."

(Ibid p.64)

Low distributed in advance to the local ministers a sheet of 'statistical enquiries' and appears to have called on them to collect their replies, not all of which are recorded. These are mainly of topographical and antiquarian interest, but the description of Fetlar included some informative comments on smallpox and that of Unst on local population.

Dr. Low's Diary was not published until the mid nineteenth century, so initially his opinions were not widely disseminated.

In 1775 an account of the Shetland fishing was published by James Fea W.S., an Edinburgh lawyer with Orcadian connexions. He found satisfying explanations for the deplorable state of affairs described by Dr. Low, and his is the earliest published account of the process of subdivision of farms which according to O'Dell had been going on since 1712;

"The situation of Shetland being so well adapted for the fishing of Ling, Cod and Tusk, and the Returns from them, in favourable seasons, so very advantageous, the Gentlemen of that country have for several years past, directed their attention entirely to this fishery; and therefore have converted some of the larger farms on their estates into such small ones, as commonly afford the possessors only Potatoe ground, a Cabbage Garden etc. very little, if any, being allowed them for corn.

"By following this method, the Gentlemen are sure to increase the number of fishing boats, and by the same means, to enhance their own prospect of gain from the fishery, which must be supposed to rise or fall, according to the numbers employed in it."

(FEA, 1775, p.1)

"Some degree of apology, however, may be made for the torpid state and indolence of these islanders; and the utmost that can be said for them is, that they have no market for their fish when caught; neither have they any salt to cure them, that they may be kept until an opportunity of disposing of them occurs. They are also in danger of a seizure at market, if cured with salt made by themselves, and they are certain of the expense of freight; so that it would never answer for these people to be adventurers themselves; they must catch the fish for others, and sell them at a stipulated price, as the Zetland method is."

(Ibid p.14)

Chapter 2:12. "A Line of Forts"

One of the most virulent attacks on those who operated "the Zetland method" was made by one Peter Innes in 1776. Innes was a merchant who in 1774 had acquired the estate of Frackafield (near Lerwick) overbidding John Mouat, much to his disgust. He was extremely jealous of the established economic and social hegemony of the great landlord-merchant families, the Mouats, Hunters, Nicolsons, Hendersons and Bruces. The immediate cause of complaint was the impounding of Innes' sloop by John Mouat as Surveyor of Customs, on the grounds that it had been used for smuggling. In a private memorial to a friend at Edinburgh Innes described his opponents thus:

" ... A line of lairds, I should have said forts*, is formed from Unst, where William Mouat resides, to Lunna where Robert Hunter and the said Elizabeth Mouat his spouse resides, and from thence to Sumburgh, where the said John Bruce resides, just in a direct line north and south, being the whole length of this country. Whereby they and their doers have good opportunity to distress the people of Lerwick, who live betwixt Lunna and Sumburgh ... "

(Manuscript, Proc. Fisc., Lerwick)

According to Innes he was not the only one engaged in smuggling;

"William Mouat father to the said John Mouat, and the said Robert Hunter his brother-in-law, as also the said John Bruce brother-in-law to the said Robert Hunter, have among them the following vessels, viz; the Dolphin commanded by Walter Scott, the Nellie commanded by John Ross, the Dorothea commanded by James Forbes, the King of Prussia commanded by Lawrence Calder and the Mermaid commanded by John Fraser, all which vessels are and have been yearly, for these many years bygone, employed by these people ... in the very same trade with the memorialist's sloop ... but with this difference, that whereas they live at a distance from the port of Lerwick, they have an opportunity to run contraband goods, which the memorialist has not, as being directly under the eye of the Custom house.

"However they are daily protected and screened by the said John Mouat, and he is in the perfect knowledge of the trade his said friends carry on, and he actually advised Captain Brown of the Princess Carolina yaucht, to order his people to break open houses in Lerwick, without any information and to take from them fishing stores of which Mouat's friends had greater quantities than in all the houses in Lerwick, which will eventually put a stop to the fishermen belonging to Lerwick, to proceed on the fishing this summer."

(Ibid)

* See Map 3

Innes gave a vivid picture of the social structure of Shetland in the 1770's. There were, he said, three classes;

"First the lairds, or gentry, who (except Sir Laurence Dundas) hold the whole or greatest part of the lands in these islands.

Secondly; the merchants, or in other words, people who have no land estate in the country, and they mostly reside in the village of Lerwick.

Thirdly; the tenants and fishers who immediately hold their little possessions off the lairds, for payment to them of a small rent, 'tis true; but at same time and on the whole, a very heavy and a dear rent: for these tenants stand bound not only to give and deliver to the lairds their annual produce, viz; what they and their families can earn of fish, butter, oyle and other merchandize, at a small and under value, but also, not to buy from any person whatever any sort of merchandize or goods but from the laird only; who sets his own price on these goods.

"This and nothing else could induce any man to purchase lands in Shetland, and those of the first class abovementioned finding a clear gain from their lands, separate from land rents, incline to keep the whole country into their own hands, and actually live like so many small princes on their estates.

"From this however there is a small exception, for the few people in the mercantile way ... have for above 100 years past enjoyed a state of freedom unknown to all the other people of Shetland, and for this only reason the first class of the inhabitants wish publickly to see this small village burnt, and actually have, for many years, at least, within the memory of the people now living, done all in their power to distress them and their small families."

(Ibid)

In earlier times an upstart like Innes would have been nothing remarkable. Many of the great lairds were directly descended from people in a similar situation. A sixteenth or seventeenth century Peter Innes would either have become a great laird or have sunk quietly into obscurity. However, times had changed: Innes' outbursts were extraordinary because the people he were attacking were now very well established and had long forgotten their land-grabbing ancestors. Minor merchants and ship-owners like Innes were supposed to know their place and be content with picking up the odd scrap of land here and there, or to hold on quietly to the pieces that they or their wives inherited (Mrs. Innes' lands were in Bressay). They were not supposed to overbid their social and economic superiors for land, and yet in the 70's people like Innes were becoming more and more impudent. (The bidding of Innes

and his like was partly responsible for the very high prices paid at the auction of the Westshore Estate in 1789.)

So Peter Innes represents the force that was eventually to wrest from the lairds at least part of their power - their merchant functions. He was also one of the first of his new and financially aggressive class to state his feeling so clearly and on paper, and although he personally did not "make it" - i.e. found another dynasty of merchant-lairds to replace the laird-merchants, those who followed him did - the Hays, Ogilvies and the rest.

In 1775 Thomas Mouat had formally joined the ranks of the lairds who bore the brunt of Innes's attack; in 1775 his father transferred to him over 200 merks of land in Unst. At the age of 27 he was a laird in his own right. Thomas Mouat had returned to Shetland in the early 1770's to help his father run the estate and the family business, after studying classics, philosophy and law at Aberdeen and Edinburgh universities and some training "in the mercantile way" in Leith.

In 1774 Thomas Mouat and his father started the building of a new house at Wadbister, Unst;* they spent £900 sterling on it, with more on enclosing the fields of the township nearby; although it was not the largest laird's house in Shetland it was the most fashionable of its day; plasterers and carpenters were fetched from Edinburgh to add the final touches.

When the house was nearly finished Thomas Mouat went on a 'jaunt' to London, travelling by sea as far as Yarmouth; his notebook/ diary of his only visit to the metropolis is preserved at Gardie, a minutely-written volume crammed with architectural and topographical detail.

On his return from the jaunt, he married, in 1776, Elizabeth

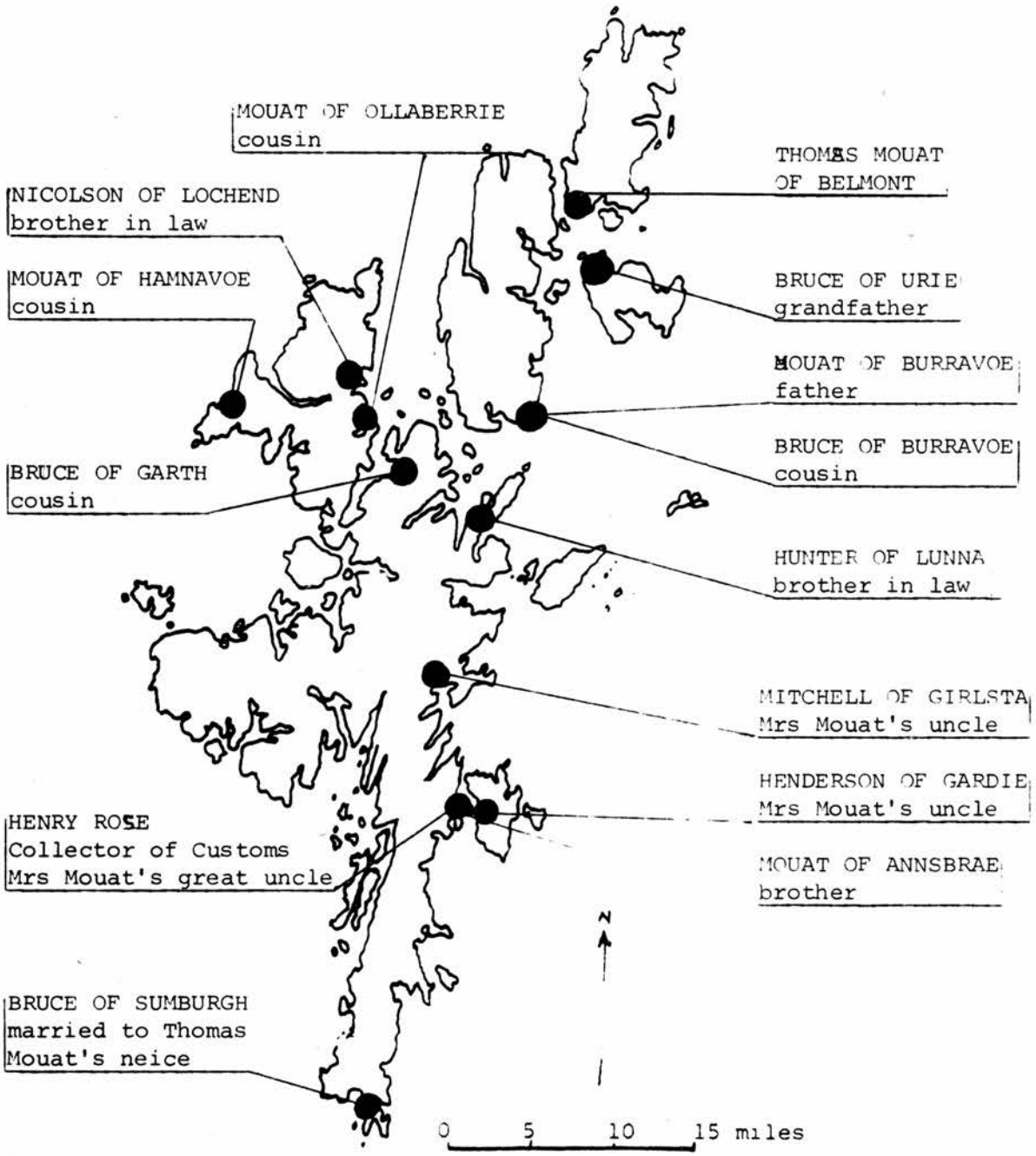
* They named it "Belmont"

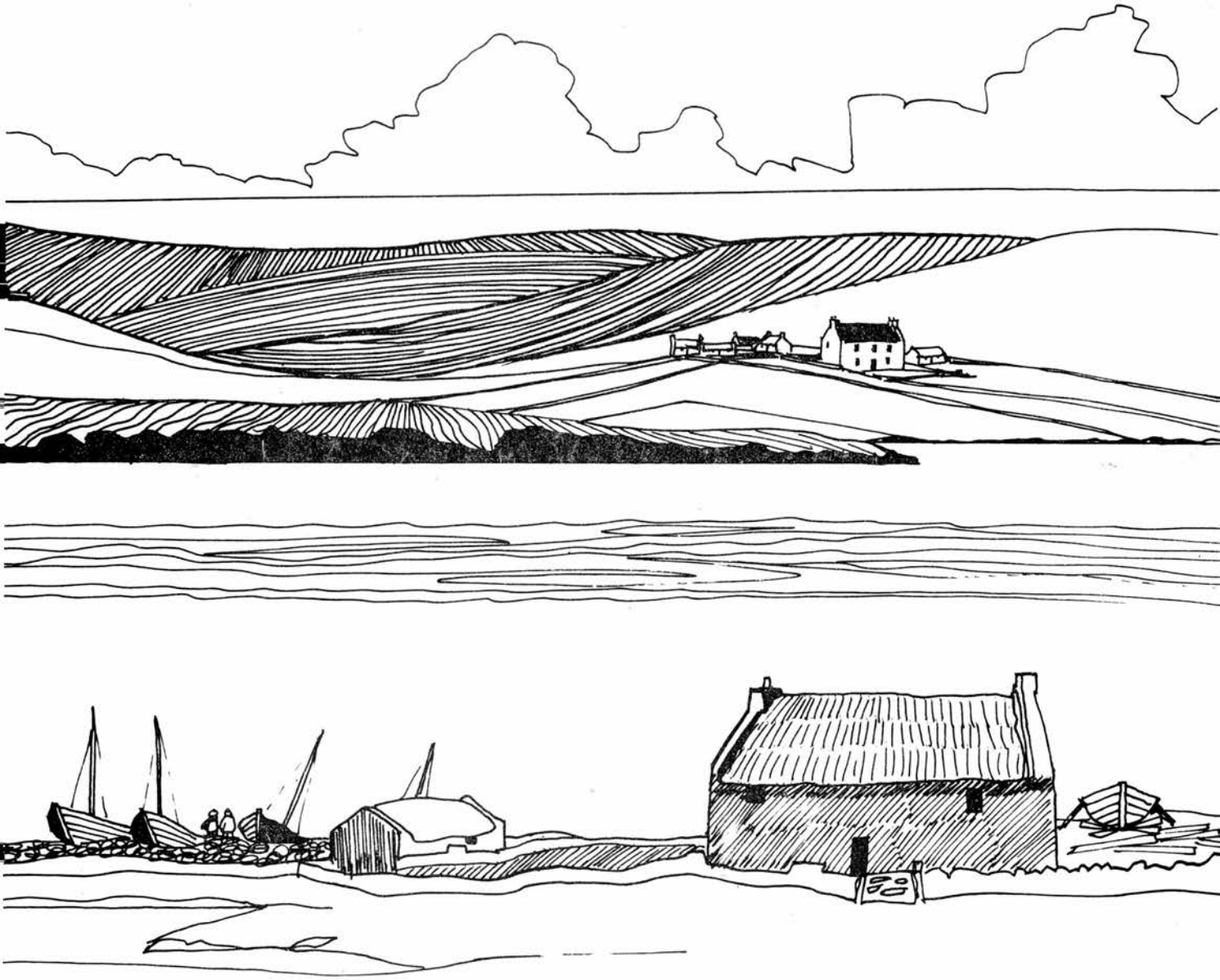
Nicolson of Lochend, heiress to her uncle James Henderson of Gardie. In that year "Betsy" and Thomas moved into the new house at Belmont with his parents, but William Mouat and his wife left shortly afterwards, following family disagreements, and retired to "the old Haa" at Burravoe. In 1777 Thomas began the series of accounts, rentals and correspondence that he was to continue almost un-interruptedly for the next forty years. Thus the year 1777 marks the beginning of this detailed examination of the working of an eighteenth century Shetland estate, and "the Zetland method" in full swing.

MAP 3

"A LINE OF FORTS"

Some of Thomas Mouat's family connexions in Shetland





BELMONT AND BLUEMULL SOUND
FROM GUTCHER IN YELL

JWFB

PART 1

Chapter 3. The "Zetland Method" and its critics

"A mistaken idea that the lower ranks labour under oppression from their landlords has been lately adopted by some superficial tourists, and seems to be the rage of the times; those ideas have been propagated with great industry, and though utterly unfounded have had the worst imaginable effects in stirring up discontent and seditious views in the minds of the people, by which their imaginations are now so much inflamed, that they are ready to break out in acts of violence and to become in a state of insubordination to the laws and established customs of the country - which practice if continued with in all probability lead to the utmost anarchy and confusion."

Thomas Mouat, "Heads of Defence", No.1,836, 1807.

"The propriety, too, of assuring 4,000 families of the lowest order that they are cheated and abused by 50 families of superior rank, may be questioned, now when the Democratic principles of France are so generally disseminated."

William Mouat, Criticism of Edmonston's "Zetland". No. 1,943. 1811.

Chapter 3:1. The Zetland Method - How it Worked

"The Zetland Method" is of course a general label* applied for convenience to a system that exhibited many local peculiarities and variations, but it may be useful to summarise the functions, reponsibilities and rights of the various groups of people who operated, or co-operated with, the system as it was at the end of the eighteenth century.

Lairds, who were nearly always merchant lairds as well, were a clearly identifiable class, mostly owning 200 or more merks of land. By 1800 they are clearly distinguished from the remnants of the Udallers, very few of whom owned more than 20 merks of land. There were a few "mini-lairds" who might own 50 or 100 merks of land, but we often find that these were men who were either on their way up the social pyramid, expanding their small estates, or the heirs of bankrupt erstwhile lairds, selling their land under pressure to settle with creditors.

Lairds were entitled to draw rents from the lands they owned, and could also expect to exact three day's labour ("day's works") from each tenant per year. They usually collected the skatt and other "superiority" payments from their tenants which, though theoretically a charge on the heritor, appear in most cases to have been charged to the tenants. They expected to monopolise the day-to-day transactions of their tenants but as I suggest below this monopoly was subject to attack from "yaugers" and "forestallers". On most estates the lairds expected their main income to come from the fishing activities of their tenants.

* First used by James Fea in 1775.

In return for these considerable emoluments most lairds were bound to maintain the houses ~~and the dykes~~ of the farms and townships, though ~~neither~~ housing ~~nor fencing~~ standards were not very high. They had to extend virtually unlimited credit to the tenant, although this also gave them unlimited power particularly in times of land shortage. Finally they were expected to feed, clothe and house their destitute tenants in times of serious food shortage, though here again dietary standards were not high. Normally this responsibility fell on the not-so-destitute tenants themselves.

Tenants, in the vast majority of cases, were obliged to go themselves or to provide substitutes to fish for the laird in the summer, in return for the tenure of their farms. Free tenants were obliged to pay a higher rent in most cases, but could sell their produce to and fish for whom they wished. The evidence from Unst and Bressay is that they did not compremise more than 5% of the tenants, and the extent to which they were "thirled" to landless merchants is unknown.

There were also Factors, employees of the lairds who managed their estates for them and often owned a small quantity of land themselves; Tacksmen who paid the lairds in cash for a lease of all or part of an estate, and collected the rents in cash and kind from the tenants. Tacksmen made their profit from the difference between the current market price of such commodities as fish and butter and the traditional rental or conversion price stated in the lairds rentals. Such men often purchased the debts due to lairds and pursued the tenants for payment in kind.

Often a factor or tacksman would also be a merchant in a small way, but there was a distinct class of merchants, most of them also landless merchants and resident in Lerwick, as described by Peter Innes

in 1776. As explained above, most of these merchants acted as middlemen between the lairds and the retail markets for "country produce". The lairds usually contracted to these people to buy the essential supplies and luxury items that they freighted back on return voyages from the south, although there is little evidence that lairds dealt only with one merchant; Thomas Mouat's accounts show that in any one year he might deal with as many as six different merchants, although often one of them would handle more than half of his goods. A great deal of work could be done on the surviving papers of such traders as the Hays, and in particular we need a more detailed picture of the ownership of the vessels trading to Shetland in the late eighteenth century.

The ministers numbered only ten or twelve men, but as a relatively independent group they had a disproportionate influence through their moral strictures on the rest of society. Nonetheless they depended on their teinds and glebe lands for their subsistence, and there were frequent conflicts with tenants, factors, tackemen and lairds over purely economic matters. The majority of them were critical of "the Zetland method", though less so of such iniquities as the farming out of teinds for profit, a common practice.

The cottars were numerically insignificant, as far as we can tell, until well into the nineteenth century, but it is often difficult to distinguish them from house-folk and the landless poor. All three groups were largely excluded from the one-sided but admittedly mutual obligations that bound tenants and lairds, though they did depend on the ministers for charity and on the tenants and udallers through the poor relief system of "quartering" on the parish in rotation. Those who found employment as wage-earning labourers had some claim on their

employers for relief of economic distress, but the rest were without any real niche in the system, especially in the winter when labour requirements were almost nil.

Thus the study of "the Zetland method" is the study of the interactions of three groups; the lairds, the merchants, and the 4,000-odd families of tenants, with the ministers on the sidelines prophesying ruin and distress to all who would, or were forced to, listen.

Most of the contemporary commentators were either attacking or defending the system, so that while there is considerable agreement in describing the conditions of the time, there is polarisation of views in explaining them. Thomas Mouat was one of the main champions of the lairds and wrote many of their polemics. Much of the material discussed below is to be found in his papers. The debates on the question of "oppression" became so heated that one is tempted to call this chapter "The Class Struggle in Eighteenth Century Shetland", but in reality the struggle took place between antagonistic groups within the educated classes (i.e. lairds, ministers and merchants). The people themselves, as far as is known, took little active part. Dumb insolence and sporadic defiance were no match for the Zetland method in full swing.

There were plenty of problems for the young landowners in the 1770's; there was constant worry about the precarious fortunes of fishing, agriculture and trade, all subject to economic and climatic fluctuations over which he had no control. Perhaps the most serious problem over which the laird might expect to have some control was that of labour supply. In 1775 the ranks of the 15 - 20 age group must have been considerably thinned by the high infant mortality associated with the 1760 smallpox epidemic. Every spring the young men were

likely to enlist without permission in the whaling ships, or to be taken by the Press Gang, or both.

The American War of Independence put a stop to the plans for emigration, but almost immediately the Navy began recruiting in earnest, and the controversies attending this are discussed below.

Chapter 3:2. "Emancipation"

John Bruce of Sumburgh was considered an "enlightened" laird by some pamphleteers because in 1778 he "emancipated" his tenants. Brian Smith (1971), in an unpublished paper on the district of Cunningsburgh, has shown that he was partially motivated by a desire to exchange the tedious bookwork involved in running fishing tenures for the more lucrative, if equally exhausting, post of factor for Dundas's lands and superiorities.

Bruce's tenants were allowed to sell their fish to whom they wished and to buy their gear from any merchant. In practice they were often obliged to rely on the credit and trading facilities of Sumburgh's own factor Laurence Hughson of Bigton (a minor laird and entrepreneur in Dunrossness) to whom they were "thirled" for many a year, according to the tacksman Thomas Leisk of Uyea. (GP, 1811). It is probable that they were also involved with other merchants, particularly in the years immediately after their "emancipation".

In the same year there was a widespread shortage of food in Dunrossness, the most fertile agricultural district of Shetland; only Government relief and an unexpectedly good harvest averted catastrophe, said the minister, the Rev. John Mill. (1889, p.54). It also saw the conclusion of the first legal wrangle between Dundas and the heritors (excluding Sumburgh - who tried to act as arbiter between his master and his relations). The issue, as in 1750, was the payment of skatt and superiorities. The lairds won a minor point about payment of feu duties from lands feued before 1707 (which lands were said to be held direct of the Crown, not of Morton and Dundas), but the Court of Session and the House of Lords again reserved judgement on the crucial question of whether or not skatt was a land

tax and whether Dundas was entitled to claim it. The process cost a great deal of money, and both sides claimed the inconclusive result as a victory. It certainly served to renew the interest of the Edinburgh public in the distortion of weights and measures which had continued unabated since 1752. William Mouat contributed a lengthy and authoritative account of this iniquity, written in 1775. Not all the landowners were so co-operative. At a public meeting in 1779 (ostensibly called to discuss the regulation of manufacturing standards for "country produce"), Robert Hunter launched a tirade against those minor lairds and merchants who refused to pay towards the cost of "country causes" like the actions against the Customs in 1776 and Dundas in 1774 - 78;

"Those gentlemen who do not subscribe to the resulations should be honour bound not to profit from successful actions for redress of grievances brought by those that do ... "

He was so incensed at the lack of support for this elementary trades union principle that he resigned from his appointment as the heritors' agent in Edinburgh. (GP, 1719)

The lairds' co-operative efforts to improve the standard of butter and woollens paid in kind by the tenants, did not meet with any more success. As long as rents, duties and taxes were paid wholly or partly in kind, the tenants' only means of resistance to distorted weights and measures was to make shoddy woollen goods, putrefied fish oil, and rancid butter fit only for greasing gun carriages. (See chapter 5).

A few brave tenants, like Fridoman Stickle of Unst, did take their resistance a stage further. Stickle was a German sailor who had been shipwrecked in Unst and had settled there (his descendants are there yet). In 1779 he took the unprecedented step of refusing to pay extra rent to Dundas's Unst factor Thomas Sanderson of Buness;

he claimed that he had always paid regularly, and that Sanderson had deliberately distorted the butter weights, " ... so it's not now time to come back against all reason, law and equity against a poor tenant ... " (No. 738). Stickle was using an argument that the lairds themselves had urged against Dundas, and there is a strong probability that he was supported as a test case by Thomas Mouat, because Mouat also had a grudge against Sanderson concerning skatt.

The intense litigation of the late 1770's, together with his attempts to enlarge his estate, seems to have left Thomas Mouat with little time for correspondence with his friends in the south. "It is somewhat odd," wrote his lawyer friend William Keith from Edinburgh in 1779, "that from employment of catching or curing fish and caressing your wife, you could not find as much time as to let your friends know whether you are dead or alive ... "

Chapter 3:3. Thomas Pennant and "The Hand of Oppression"

In 1781 the lairds renewed their efforts for a parliamentary valuation, and again they enlisted the help of all their influential friends in Edinburgh and London. Robert Hunter again led the agitation, but before a favourable result could be obtained the lairds received a rebuff in the form of much unfavourable publicity.

In 1784 Thomas Pennant published volume I of his "Arctic Zoology", (3rd edition), and in passing he paraphrased the opinions of his friend and illustrator, the Rev. George Low, who had made a second visit to Shetland in 1778. His comments raised a storm of indignation amongst the Shetland heritors;

"Cod, ling and torsk furnish cargoes to ... adventurers." he wrote, "I wish I could speak with the same satisfaction of this as of the free fishery of the herring; but in these distant islands the hand of oppression reigns uncontrolled. The poor vassals, (in defiance of laws still kept in bondage) are compelled to slave, and hazard their lives in the capture to deliver their fish to their lords for a trifling sum, who sell them to adventurers from different parts at a high price ... "

(My emphasis)

" ... Multitudes of the inhabitants of each cluster of islands, feed, during the season, on the eggs of the birds of the cliffs. The method of taking them is so very hazardous, as to satisfy one of the extremity to which the poor people are driven for want of food."

(Pennant, 1784, Vol.I xxix)
(My emphasis)

In the same year, Knox's "View of the British Empire" examined the feasibility of extending the Shetland fish trade;

"As the North Seas are boundless, the fish inexaustible, and the demands unlimited, a fishery might be established, to the extent of some thousand tons annually, not solely by the natives, who are in a state of servitude, and the utmost indigence, but by adventurers from the whole eastern coast of Scotland and the Orkneys."

(Knox, 1784, Vol.I, 335)
(My emphasis)

The same writer also published a letter he had received from "a merchant company at Greenock" (probably one of the houses who handled the lairds' Iberian cargoes);

"We are of the opinion, that if the poor inhabitants of Shetland were relieved from their present servitude to their landlords, and allowed to cure and sell their own fish to the merchants, a much greater number of fish would be caught, the merchants supplied at a cheaper rate, and the fishermen properly recompensed for their industry."

(Ibid) (My emphasis)

In August 1784, a month after the Government had despatched famine relief supplies to Shetland in response to a petition from the heritors, a committee of the House of Commons investigated the state of the islands. Among the evidence they heard was a highly critical comment from one Captain Hall, a seafarer who had traded to Shetland and who bore out all that Low, Pennant and Knox had said. George Dempster M.P., who had been instrumental in persuading Pitt of the necessity for relief, was also critical, despite his assurances to Robert Hunter that he meant nothing "inimical to the landed interest" in Shetland. Dempster diplomatically suggested that "local custom" was "unfavourable to the wishes of the nation for improving and extending our fisheries". (No. 903)

Chapter 3:4. Thomas Mouat's "Observations" of 1785

The allegations were widely circulated in Edinburgh and London, and it fell to Thomas Mouat to answer the charges on the lairds' behalf. His "Observations on and causes of the particular connexions that subsist betwixt the landholders of Shetland and their tenants or fishers" was printed in 1785; whatever one thinks of Mouat's views it remains the best written and most persuasively argued statement in favour of "the Zetland method", and surpasses the bitter diatribes of the 1800 - 1807 controversies. Despite all the subsequent debates, Mouat never substantially elaborated on this document. Its assumptions and assertions became the standard defence, and it earned him the lasting respect and gratitude of his fellows. It is also revealing as a statement of the lairds' beliefs about their own historical role, and for these reasons the manuscript of the paper (10.3.1785) is here printed in full. (My emphasis throughout)

"Prior to the present century, the whole trade of this country almost, was carried on by foreign adventurers from Hamburgh, Bremen and Holland; who imported annually in the spring of the year for the use of the inhabitants, grain of various kinds, and all the apparatus and implements necessary for their prosecuting the fisheries, which those merchants sold them, at a moderate profit; and in return, received merchantable fresh fish, of various kinds, particularly ling, cod and tusk, from the inhabitants, salted and cured them, and in the end of the season exported them; together with all other kinds of goods the country produced. But for each ling fish the merchant received from the fishing-farmers, the landlord was by paction entitled to one penny sterling of the price, which at that time was about one third part thereof - for the privilege allowed those traders, of erecting their booths or warehouses, & of carrying on their traffic on the landlord's grounds.

"Certain sums were annually imposed by the revenue officers of the kingdom, on those adventurers, in name of duties of customs; which were from time to time increased, so as to discourage the continuance of their trade, & which they were thus obliged to totally abandon, about the end of the last century.

"The Dutch [i.e. Deutsch] merchants having now deserted the country, the fishers were at a great loss how to dispose of their fish, oil and other products, as there was no mercat within the islands; and

how to be supplied with provisions and fishing materials such as boats, lines, hooks, etc. there being no merchants of any note, at that time, among the natives.

"In this untoward state of affairs, which affected the landholder equally with the tenant or fisher, it became absolutely necessary that the former should commence merchant, in order that the produce of the estate should not perish; and as the tenants in general had not stock wherewith to purchase the necessary articles of subsistence, and fishing apparatus, the merchant-landlord was obliged to advance to them grain in the spring and summer, (their own crops seldom being sufficient to maintain them six months in the year), boats, lines, hooks and all other articles necessary for prosecuting their fisheries as formerly. For his reimburse, and for his landrent, he was obliged to take his chance of what fish happened to be caught thro' the season, or other species of goods the tenant had to dispose of; and a certain fixed price was by the mutual consent of the buyer and seller put on each article adequate to its value at the time.

In this situation of affairs it was evident and reasonable the advancer of those necessary articles should have a preferance sic to the purchase of all the tenant's goods, at least in so far as to indemnify his creditor; and it rarely happened that it was in the debtor's power compleatly to indemnify him, especially when grain was high priced, or the fishing unsuccessful; yet as neither party had any alternative the same system was pursued, in hopes that more successful fishings in succeeding years should extinguish the balance owing by the tenants, which however long due never bore any interest.

"The ling fish was received new caught from the fisher and was salted, dried, & exported by the landlord to foreign mercats, particularly to Hamburgh & Bremen, where the prices were frequently so low as not to equal the prime cost of the commodity, sometimes not exceeding 8 to 9 merks Lubeck (of 16d each) per quintal or cwt and in particular instances falling to 5 or 6 merks, while the fisher never was allowed less than three pence for each sufficient ling fish of 27 inches and upwards of which 25 on an average would when dry make up a quintal. But whatever loss the exporter might sustain, he never had any recourse on the fisher.

The discouragements at Hamburgh and Bremen, induced the landholders to try at great expense and risque, the mercats of Portugal, Spain & Italy, by buying or freighting vessels and loading them with fish wholly on their own account for those countries. Sometimes they succeeded pretty well, but one unsuccessful voyage might well nigh ruin adventurers of such inconsiderable capital.

"The fish or principal trade of Shetland continued nearly in this [way] until about twenty five years ago i.e. ca. 1760 some English merchants occasionally appeared and purchased the best of the fish from the landholders, cured and dried, at nine to ten shillings per quintal (delivered free of expense) for exportation; & the fishcurer was now entitled to a debenture from Government of three shillings per quintal of dried fish. Ever since that period the greatest part of the ling fish has been bought in the country after being pickt [sic]; and exported by English or Scots merchants, to the Mediterranean mercats;

except so much as the Hamburgh mercat requires, which is trifling in comparison, and a small quantity is also sent coastwise annually, but bought in the country [i.e. in Shetland]. And the sale price of cured fish for the Mediterranean mercats including the debenture has lately risen to eighteen and nineteen shillings per cwt. The price paid the fishers by the curer or landlord has also risen from 3d to 5d and even 6d for each ling fish in proportion as they weigh, the fishers receiving 3/6d to 3/9d per quintal of wet ling fish, besides encouragement in many instances of bountys, lines or boats free of hire, etc.

"Notwithstanding those high prices now paid the fishers or tenants for their fish and other commodities in proportion, they are generally more in debt to their landlords than formerly; luxury having increased with them fully in proportion to these advantages; But more especially the almost total failure of three corn crops successively, has starved a few, rendered the greatest part bankrupt, and nearly involved the landholders in the same ruin; in consequence of their great exertions to support their tenants in the means of subsistence, and of prosecuting the fishery; and the reimburse of the former is now on a more precarious footing than heretofore from the following cause;

"The spirit of traffic and adventure having pervaded many individuals of the inhabitants who are not of landed property, some of the lower class of such, taking advantage of the immediate necessity of the fishermen, while cold and hungry returning from their hazardous and fatiguing employment at sea in small open boats, entice them with spirits and provisions, and at other times with unnecessary luxuries in dress, by such means seducing them to violate a previous engagement by disposing of those fish or other commodities which are in effect already sold, or bargain'd for, by the landlord, in lieu of the heavy expense he has incurred in providing them the very means of existence. While at the same time, those petty dealers run no risque, as they sell only for immediate payment. [See Chapter 5]

"The tenants conscious that in reason and equity the landholder for those weighty causes has a title to be preferred to the purchase of their fish etc, therefore carry on their dealings with those buyers in a clandestine manner, and in the night time, and sometimes sell not only their own property but also their neighbour's (favoured by the darkness and silence of the hour) to such dealers, who are nowhise [sic] scrupulous to receive without asking questions of the seller, and thus are in many instances, recipters [sic] of theft, but particularly in this, when they buy fish from a person they know to be hired for a fee during the summer season by a landlord to fish for his account; and in this practice they have often been detected; a practice which would surely subject them to the punishment of theft if rigorously cognosced, and by which they have incurred the opprobious epithet of Yagers. This kind of dealing evidently tends to the corruption of the common people's fidelity and morals, & occasions jealousies and misunderstanding betwixt them and their landlord, on whom only they still depend for the means of subsistence, at the same time that they delapidate their substance to procure the luxuries of dress; & leave him unpaid for the most necessary and indispensable advances, without which they could neither sow their lands, or prosecute their fisheries.

"The landlords now finding they retain only the invidious and

nominal privilege of monopolizing their tenants' goods, without the reality or benefit thereof, at the same time that they are still subjected to the greater expense and advance as formerly necessary for the tenants' support on credit, are in general tired of this system and wish to allow their tenants and fishers that liberty professedly, which in a greater measure they enjoy clandestinely without equivalent; provided the landlord could obtain the punctual payment yearly of his rent, with some consideration for the profits of fish, which article in many instances composes a part of the land rent.

"But to this plan, seemingly to strangers so advantageous to the tenants, they are utterly averse; being loth to forego that certain dependance they presently cast on their landlords for the means of subsistence or credit, for aid, patronage and support in all emergencies, misfortunes and difficulties; and except Mr. Bruce of Sumburgh whose estate lies contiguous to Lerwick, the only town in the country, no heritor has hitherto been able to prevail upon his vassals to accept that boasted liberty; neither did Mr. Bruce accomplish that desirable plan without much trouble, earnest persuasions and solicitations on his side. But having at last fortunately succeeded, he now enjoys the singular benefit of an advanced rent punctually paid up, once in the year; and exemption from the troubles and cares, and advance of considerable sums, incident to his neighbour heritors, in the management of their estates on the former footing; together with the command of his own time, to employ in other branches of business; and has been enabled to raise the rents of his estate more than once, on the expiry of three or four-year leases, from the increased industry of his people in part. But though they are not now indebted to him, they are (from the misfortunes of these last three bad crops) considerably involved with the merchants, who purchase their goods, and in this view, have only changed their creditors.

"Meantime the rents of the other heritors continue in general unaugmented, especially in the northern parts of the country, where there is no tradition of any increase of that kind, & where the tenants believe, that the landlord has no lawful authority to alter the ancient established payments from land. The services exigible by the heritor is merely trifling and unproductive, only three days works in the year of one person from each family, when required in kind, which the detached situation of many parts of the same estate, renders of no utility to be demanded. The few tenants that perform this service, are plentifully maintained in victuals often of greater value than their labour. No furnishing of peats or fuel, no flitting or fording the landlord takes place there, as in many parts of the north of Scotland; even poultry is not paid in the northern parts of the country.

"The people are naturally of an independent, licentious, insolent spirit; intelligent, cunning & interested;* perfectly skilled in the artifices likely to promote their own advantage, which they practise with great effect, often inconsistently with strict honesty and sincerity. Such a people are not likely to submit to any arbitary unreasonable impositions of the proprietors of the soil, especially while the British Greenland fisheries at all times, and by the Navy in time of war, afford a constant resource and alternative for the young men, where the price of labour is much higher than at home.

* ~~of p. 95 below~~

"And in fact a tollerable good fisher or farmer is often an object of keen competition among different landlords, who over bid one another in encouragements to such, to induce him to accept their lands, and thus in effect reduce the rent of them.

"But the competition of several tenants for the same farm, and the offers of entry money and grassums, as in other places, are scarcely known here; because there are always waste lands in many parts of the country. So that on the whole the commons are fully as independant of the landholders as the latter are of the former, notwithstanding the misrepresentations that have lately been propagated by malevolent, ignorant and designing persons, to the disadvantage of the landholders, in order to subject them to the unmerited odium of the legislature; but to set their own pretended patiotism in a favourable and conspicuous point of view, thereby cloaking the sinister motives of an unwarrantable conduct.

"But the landholders, conscious of the rectitude of their own conduct, and relying perhaps too much, on the futility of those slanders, hitherto neglected any vindication, and wish nothing more ardently than an impartial investigation of their conduct towards their tenants, which they flatter themselves, will prove to be the result of a deep humanity, mutual conveniency, as well as policy; unconnected with that spirit of iniquity and oppression, so loudly trumpeted in specious terms, but which when the real constitution of the country and situation of the parties is attended to and understood, will appear to have no foundation in fact.

"Of which nothing can afford a more convincing and unanswerable proof than the aversion entertained by the tenants, to avail themselves of that liberty of traffic avowedly, which on a superficial view of the matter, may appear so advantageous to them. But they are well aware, it would not compensate the assistance, credit and patronage they receive in consequence of the present connexion with their landlords ..."

As an afterthought, he added;

"But howsoever agreeable and advantageous in other respects it might be to the landlords to be exumed from their present obligations ... it is certain the consequences would soon deeply affect the character and value of Shetland fish, which would in such case come to be salted and cured in very small parcels by each fisher for his own account, without experience of the proper method, or ability to furnish the necessary expensive apparatus of vats, etc; and supposing all the fishers to acquire the compleatest knowledge of the method of curing, still it is well known that it is not possible to cure small parcels to equal perfection with large quantities, or to make them uniform in quality and appearance. Such inferiority would soon be perceived by the buyers or exporters and tend inevitably to reduce the price of this valuable commodity, the stapple of the country which has for many years been improving in quality and of consequence in value, owing to the strict attention paid by the landholders to that important article, who have spared neither their pains or expense to raise the character of their fish, by having them cured in large parcels in the most perfect manner by persons bred in the business who have no other occupation."

Thomas Mouat sent his "Observations" to Colonel Thomas Dundas, who agreed that "the tenant finds it necessary to be dependent on the landlord and finds him in the long run the best person to deal with ..." (No. 897 etc). His reassurance that the vindication would prove superfluous was borne out by Committee's conclusions, which exonerated the lairds from guilt, while condemning the state of affairs in general terms.

In the same year another laird, Lieutenant Walter Scott, R.N. (Commander of the Impress at Lerwick and soon to be Sheriff Substitute) wrote a similar defence of the system for a Mr. MacTavish who enquired what might be the best way of spending £100 offered by the Board of Trustees appointed to improve the state of the British fisheries. Scott's suggestions ranged from the establishment of salt pans to the offering of premiums for improvements in sheep, vegetables and manufactures. He recited the lairds' attempts to take the initiative and the melancholy fate of the linen company; (See p. 66 above).

"If some such improvements do not receive the necessary support in their infancy, it is better they were let alone and the money saved, for a failure for want of funds generally puts a stop to all future trials."

(My emphasis)

Despite these two eloquent productions, a further attack was published in 1786 by the Highland Society. The anonymous author who styled himself "A Native of Shetland" painted a less rosy picture than Thomas Mouat and Scott;

"The landholders, finding their small incomes insufficient to enable them to indulge their propensity to show and hospitality, at first imagined that, by raising the land-rent upon the tenants, and exacting more rigorously the services which their tenants owed them, they might not only be extricated from their difficulties but enabled to pursue the line of conduct they so much relished. This also proving fallacious, they at last adopted a system which, instead of answering the end proposed, has been the mean of bringing upon their posterity, and the country in general, all the miseries which have followed. I allude to that most unjustifiable and most destructive of all trades, the smuggling of foreign spirits.

"The landholders, in order to support that rank to which they have been early accustomed, are obliged not only rigorously to exact their rents from the tenants, but also a great number of petty services, introduced in the days of tyranny and oppression and confirmed by long and inveterate custom. The tenants, groaning under a load of debt, which they despair of ever being able to extinguish, and unable to resist that passion for gaiety which is so prevalent, chuse rather to soothe their cares and labours, by yielding to that destructive impulse, than to apply their dear-bought gain to the payment of debts which they imagine their utmost efforts can never liquidate" ... "In addition to this, the tenants hold their possessions, not only without writing, but at the pleasure of their landlords. It is not therefore wonderful that they should bestow no great pains upon the cultivation of the ground, when they can hardly promise themselves the possession for a single year. In order to put a period to this slavish dependance of the tenants upon their landlords, it will be necessary to enlarge their possessions; to allow them long leases: and wholly to put an end to the many petty services, at present exacted from them, which are so inimical to the interest of both parties."

(Proc. Highland Society, 1786; vol.i, p. 275)

The only minister to come to the lairds' defence was Mr. Sands of Tingwall (others, including the influential John Mill of Dunrossness, were highly critical). Sands was asked by Alexander Alison of the Excise to give an "impartial account" of the circumstances of the tenants and answered as follows:

"You observe many are impressed with the idea that the poverty and present distresses of the country are greatly aggravated by the oppressive measures of the landlords, and desire me to write you my sentiments on this subject ... When I first came to this country* I considered the thirlage of the tenants to their masters for the sale of their fish as oppressive and imperious; but after eighteen years experience and observation I am unable to point out any other mode that would be more advantageous to the tenants. I have seen during these years various trials made to improve the fishery, and to prosecute it on a different plan, but without success or any beneficial effects.

"The tenants and fishermen of Shetland generally purchase their necessaries where they please ... tho' the system of management that has obtained in these islands may wear the appearance of oppression, it is not often followed by its pernicious effects, and ... in years when the earth yields its usual increase, the poorer sort live as comfortably here as in any of the northern counties of Scotland, and far more luxuriously."

(No. 1,589)

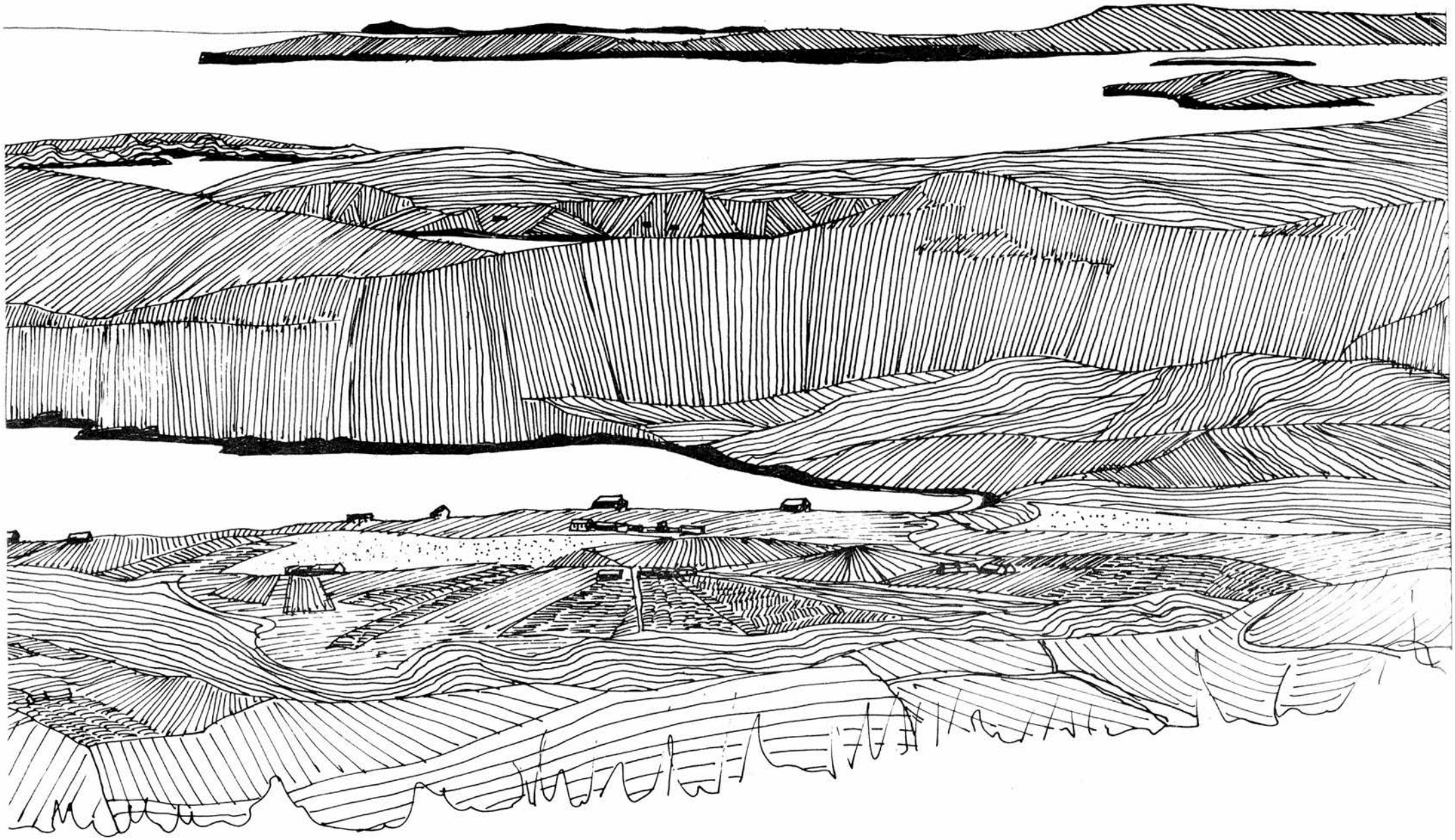
In 1801, under pressure from the Secretary of the SSPCK, Sands was to retract this vindication.

* (1767)

These literary attacks were not the only source of opposition. In 1786 Thomas Mouat was challenged by the Ross family, minor Unst landowners and merchants, for the possession of the farm of Still which, with its valuable sitting tenant, an expert fisherman named James Johnson, was a reliable source of revenue. The Rosses were supported by no less a magnate than Bruce of Sumburgh. Mouat fought off this attack, but the following year we find him complaining that Sumburgh, as Admiral Depute, was refusing to give the customary nods and winks to his "intromissions" with wreck wood and drifting timber. The seashore was an important source of building timber and firewood; powerful lairds were accustomed to being unmolested in their activities; in the past they had merely claimed their share of wood salvaged by the tenants, and not reported all of it to the Admiral. (Thomas Mouat kept a ledger in which every piece of wood was entered with its value.)

Sumburgh also annoyed William Mouat when in 1787 he spoke of "the stubborn facts against us" (i.e. the lairds) in their alteration of weights and measures, accusing Mouat of extortion and of making "unjust and ungentlemanly" attacks on Dundas.

There followed a short period of relative calm and prosperity for the lairds before old sores were re-opened by the ministers who wrote the Statistical Accounts from 1791 onwards.



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Chapter 3:5. The Statistical Accounts

The Statistical Accounts of the Shetland parishes were published between 1791 and 1799, but most were completed by 1795. They were published in collected form in 1925 by the Shetland historian and scholar E.S. Reid Tait; in his introduction to that volume he remarked on the great diversity in the quantity and quality of the information in the Accounts, and on ... "the adverse criticism levelled by the large majority of writers, at the system of land tenure then in vogue". (E.S.R. Tait; 1925; p.xvi).

In fact no fewer than 6 of the 9 ministers who contributed were critical of the system. Only two accounts were favourable, one of them being that for Unst, which was compiled by Sir John Sinclair's editors from 2 accounts, one written by Thomas Mouat and one by the Minister, Mr. Barclay. (No. 1702). They evidently disagreed about the actual state of the parish, and many of the 'political' points in Mouat's manuscript were removed before publication.

Mouat was more optimistic about Shetland society than his clerical colleagues; he admitted that the lairds had enjoyed an augmentation of income through the raising of weights and measures, but claimed that:

> " ... circumstances render it necessary for them the landlords to act in some manner, as contractors with their tenants; supplying them with boats and other implements for fishing, and with almost every article whether of necessity or of luxury which is imported for their use from foreign markets; while they purchase, in return, almost all the articles that the tenants can offer for sale; a traffic by which they are naturally and reasonably gainers."
>
> (OSA; vol.5; p.197)
> (My emphasis)

His opinion of "the commons" also differed from that of the ministers, and echoed his comments in 1785;

"With respect to the qualities of their mind they appear to me a people of an independent spirit, bordering on insolence and licentiousness, courteous, cunning, intelligent and interested. Their independent spirit is nourished by a competition among the landholders for tenants to waste farms that have formerly been cultivated. No expression of profound respect much less of adulation is known among them, they know not the address "your honour" so common in the Orkneys and Caithness."

(MS. p. 21). No.1702

He also claimed that "the establishment for the poor in his parish is such that they cannot want [my emphasis] while their wealthier neighbours have any means of sustenance for themselves". (Ibid).

" ... When their corn crops fail them the people enjoy a competent share of the comfort and advantage of society faring better than almost any people liable in payment of so small rents, and when that misfortune happens its ill effects are much alleviated by the constitution of the place which affords unlimited credit to the tenant from his landlord to enable the former to prosecute the fishing from which they both hope to profit. Their resisting all temptations to join in the Emigrations to America induces me to think they are contented with their situation, if not absolutely at least comparatively."

(Mss. p. 23)

Mouat was the only writer of the Shetland Accounts to complain of the difficulties of maintaining law and order and claimed in effect that the landowners were ignored by the Sheriffs:

"A better regulation of the police would also tend to the happiness of the people. Prior to the abolition of heritable jurisdictions [1748] the Stewards of the country deputed parochial magistrates who judged in all petty causes Criminal and Civil guided by a code of Bye laws founded on the particular circumstances and adapted to the local situation of the country and compiled with judgement called Country Acts.

The modern Sheriff deputes being accountable for the Acts of their substitutes and they distrusting the desirations of such people as would undertake the trouble of such affairs, by which means we are deprived of all parochial jurisdiction and obliged to resort to the Sheriff Court at Lerwick distant forty miles and upwards, to avoid the expense and trouble of that appeal many irregular actions pass with impunity, and the police being neglected leads to many irregularities and inconveniences in society. The less however can be said on this head as the landholders have the remedy in a great measure in their own power by qualifying themselves justices of the peace which they have hitherto neglected."

One crucial passage in this account hints at the means of impoverishing the udallers:

"Some of the common people possess lands upon what is called Udal tenure. But the increase of luxury is daily tempting them to expenses, which, in the end, force them to dispose of their landed property. It is probable, therefore, that this mode of tenure may, in a short time, entirely cease here."

(O.S.A.; Vol.V; p. 196)

Only the facetious and verbose Andrew Dishington, minister of Mid and South Yell, agreed with Thomas Mouat that:

"It is not evident by what possible means their the tenants' present situation might be much ameliorated." (MS. p. 23). No. 1702

A selection of comments from the other Statistical Accounts may illustrate the depth of antipathy between the lairds and the ministers.

Among the most outspoken was The Rev. John Morrison of Delting, who was the first to finish his account for Sir John.

"The general poverty of the inhabitants; their being obliged to be from home during the fishing season; the smallness of their farms, and the precarious tenure by which they hold them, all conspire to keep them in a state of indigence. Every man, from the age of 18 to 70, must attend the fishing from 1st June to the 14th August. None are left at home but a wife, with perhaps a number of young children, who require all her attention. Every thing in the farming line must consequently go to wreck ...

"The inhabitants have not been long compelled by their landlords to prosecute the ling-fishery; but since the proprietors thought proper to employ their tenants in that line, it has become an object to have as many men as possible on their grounds. This circumstance has induced them to split the farms, and make them so small, that there are now, in many instances, four families on a farm which was possessed twenty or thirty years ago, by one ... "

(OSA; vol.i, p.385; 1791)

Even Andrew Dishington had to agree with John Menzies, minister of Bressay, (who married one of Sumburgh's daughters in 1794) that:

" ... The value of estates in this country is not to be estimated from the rents payable to the landlords. The fishing which the tenants are obliged to carry on for them, more than doubles it."

(OSA, 1794, vol.x, p. 195)

His remarks earned him the enmity of the Mouats, and after Thomas Mouat gained control of Bressay in 1797, Menzies moved to Lerwick where he was a thorn in John Mouat's side during the controversies of 1801-7.

"The fishing", he alleged, "is a great obstacle to improvements in agriculture, the chief object of the proprietors being to have as many fishermen upon their grounds as possible. The farms, consequently, are very small. Few leases are granted. Many services, the sad marks of slavery, are demanded. They must fish for their masters, who either give them a fee entirely inadequate to their labour and their dangers, or take their fish at a lower price than others would give. It is true, that, in years of scarcity, they must depend upon their landlords for the means of subsistence, and are often deep in their debt. But why now allow them to make the best of their situation? Why not let them have leases upon reasonable terms, and dispose of their produce to those who will give them the best price? Why not let them fish for themselves? Why should the laird have any claim except for the stipulated rent?"
(Ibid; 197).

Most of the ministers agreed with Menzies that the tenants were not

" ... much disposed to industry; but the reason is obvious; they have no object to call forth their exertions. Convince them that it is their interest to labour, and they will approve themselves good and faithful workmen. They are immoderately fond of tea and snuff. For the sake of these superfluities, they will deny themselves many of the necessaries of life. They are rather expensive for their circumstances, particularly in the management of their marriages and funerals; and by these means they often contract debts which they can never discharge."
(OSA; 1794, vol.x; p.201)

The Minister of Fetlar and North Yell was an ageing pessimist;

"The writer, after forty years study of the constitution of this country, must frankly own he can see no way of preventing the impending ruin of the poor land in general, and of every honest man in particular, unless the gentlemen of the country, una voce, enlarge the farms in the first place, and then let them to none but such as are of approved morals. Next, that they put the laws of their country in execution against some few of the many culprits that have infested this country for a number of years past. The puhishments inflicted for the crime of theft in particular, are so extremely mild, that they rather excite to the commission of the crime than deter from it ... "
(OSA; 1794; vol.13; p.285)

From Northmavine, a parish concerned almost exclusively with fishing, the Rev. Dr. W. William Jack reported that:

"The fishers complain that they are not permitted to dispose of their fish and produce to the best advantage; that the toil and peril of fishing is imposed upon them, without a prospect of profit. The landlords say that the tenant pays but half rent for his lands, and every necessary for the fishing provided first by them. But not to enter farther into the cause, although the present practice may have advantages equal to its disadvantages, yet the appearance of a monopoly is a circumstance which seldom fails to be considered as a grievance. A

friendly and benevolent behaviour towards towards their tenants, is a characteristic that will apply, in general, to proprietors in this country; but their granting no leases, is much against improvements, and keeps the tenants in constant dependence."

(OSA; 1794; vol.12; p.362)

Despite his criticisms of the lairds, the minister of North Yell and Fetlar cannot be considered an unequivocal champion of the tenants; he also criticised his parishioners:

" ... they think themselves the greatest slaves in nature, and that their masters take everything from them for nothing, vainly imagining that they would be happier in any place than in their own native soil." (Cf. Mouat's account).

" ... they are so addicted to dress, spirituous liquors and tea, that a considerable part of their gain is spent in that way."

(OSA, 1794, vol.13)

The ministers were certainly courageous in speaking out, but it would be an error to characterise them as the vanguard of popular resistance. Without exception they were incomers, Scotsmen who, in the opinion of a later critic;

" ... must evidently possess the very best means of knowing the effects of the present Zetland system on the bulk of the people; they must be the most impartial judges that can be referred to; and perhaps also the persons best qualified to point out the most rational and practicable means of reform and improvement."

(Neil, 1806)

Practical suggestions were plentiful; as well as the generally approved notions of introducing long leases and enlarging farms, most ministers supported a division of labour between fishermen and farmers, and the establishment of fishing and manufacturing villages. Mr. Menzies suggested that,

"To employ those who have no farms, and are in a greater measure idle, manufactories of woollen cloth and fishing lines could be established. They should be taught to turn their raw hides to account, by tanning them. The women should learn to spin flax, by which they might probably earn 5d or 6d a day, instead of 1d or 1½d which they now earn by knitting stockings. A linen manufactory might afterwards be erected with great advantage."

Most lairds would have agreed with these suggestions, but they remained unwilling or unable to raise the capital.

Two other eminent critics added their voices to the crescendo of abuse; in 1792 the Bath Society published J. Thompson's paper "On Shetland", which claimed that, " ... by a barbarous policy", the lairds actually contrived to keep the tenants in their debt, in order to prevent them from leaving the country. (Bath Soc. Papers, 1792, vi, 277). The geologist Professor Jameson, who had read most of the relevant pamphlets, added the following damaging aside to his "Outline of the mineralogy of the Shetland islands";

"The fisheries of this country have often been the subject of discussion; but the state of the lower order has hardly touched the heart of the traveller. It is foreign to my present purpose, but worthy of an abler pen, to set in a proper point of view, the miseries and the deplorable state of our contrymen in that quarter."
(Jameson, 1798, 17)

Thomas Mouat's Account of Unst (embellished with a map of the island by his own hand) led to a long correspondence with Sir John Sinclair. This centred on the improvement of sheep stocks (see Chapter 5 below), but Mouat also tried to enlist Sinclair's support for various "country causes", such as the perennial parliamentary valuation. Their relationship was strained by differences of opinion on the role of the ministers. Sir John, always a champion of the clergy, lamented the persistent failure of the lairds to reach agreement with the ministers about valuing the teinds and augmenting stipends. For his part Mouat complained of the ministers' ignorance in matters agricultural, and accused them of actively obstructing a valuation, abetted by one of the Secretaries of State. (No. 1,343). The two men met occasionally in Edinburgh from 1795 onwards.

Apart from the printed arguments, Thomas Mouat and his contemporaries had to deal with several practical attacks on their authority. In 1792, he wrote to Gifford of Busta urging him to help in suppressing "the smuggling and gin shops that are everywhere set up

and keeped a going by the Lerwegians; [*] these have ruined a part of my estate and bid for to destroy the remainder ... " (No. 1,248).

The following year there was unprecedented recruiting by both the Greenland ships and the Royal Navy, (the significance of which is discussed in Chapter 6 below), and several daring encroachments on common land in Unst, by gangs of men under the direction of minor landowners. (See Chapter 6).

* The first recorded use of the term "Lerwegian"

Chapter 3:6. Lunna's Experiment

In 1799 something occured which appeared to undermine the verbal defences made by Thomas Mouat and others. His nephew Robert Hunter junior, had inherited the Lunna estate on the death of his father in 1795; in 1799 he decided to follow the example of another uncle, John Bruce of Sumburgh, and he too "emancipated" his tenants. The experiment only lasted three years, but it was seized upon by the lairds' enemies as evidence of the younger lairds' distaste for "the Zetland method". In reality his reasons were more complex, not to say confused and contradictory.

In 1795 he had appointed a tacksman to run the estate for him, so his "new system" did not entail taking the lands out of his own management - he began to administer them personally, assisted by a factor "whom he supplied with every species of materials that they were likely to need, with no other object than to increase the sphere of mercantile competition; and it was completely optional with the tenants, either to buy from this factor, or sell to him their produce (or not to do so)." (Edmondston, 1809, II, 315).

The real novelty was the wording of the leases; the rents were increased but no other payments were demanded and no-one was bound to fish. Although the rents were not doubled, as they had been to compensate John Bruce for his fishing profits, the tenants remained unimpressed and uncooperative.

Hunter explained the failure of his scheme in a letter written to his uncle Thomas in 1804, and designed for public consumption;

"You must know that my giving up the old system was not a consequence of any opinion of its being oppressive while the tenants were under the immediate direction of the proprietor [which his tenants were not]. My opinion of it was far different. My reasons were these;

1st; I did not wish to be tyed down to a constance residence in this country [i.e. Shetland].

2nd; I had many complaints made to me by the tenants and sometimes observations from others against the tacksman [Thomas Leisk] and there were several tenantries laid ley during his five years possession, viz; 14.

3rd; Since I did not find it convenient to put any extra profits which might be got from the fishery into my own pocket. I wish to put it into those of the tenants rather than into that of any other person. [sic]

My reasons for returning the lands to the former system after a tryall of three years, and more experience of the dispositions of the people, were;

1st; The rents were much below what I could get from a tacksman with every prospect of losing a great part of them.

2nd; To have preserved the pasture and kelp shores from being utterly ruined, and to have collected the rent entire would have required nearly as constant residence as to have managed in the old way.

3rd; The tacksman relieves me of the great burden of repairing houses, pays the rent without deficiencies, and without putting me to any expense in the collection.

4th; I have had as many complaints made to me against myself and my rent as I formerly had against the tacksman.

5th; I have reason to ascribe most of the above-mentioned desertion of 14 tenantry to men going away in great numbers from all the country during these years, to the shortness of the tacksman's lease and perhaps in some measure to his having been accustomed to the narrow ways of small dealing.

6th; Since the tenants are no longer obliged to keep up shares of boats many of them rather chuse to hire boats of those to whom they fished, thus spending their gains in extravagance and neglecting to find in it an article which in time of need might have served to support their credits or in case of death have been a legacy to their families."
(No. 1,696)

So in 1802 Thomas Leisk of Uyea was re-appointed as tacksman of Lunna, with Hunter's uncle John Mouat as cautioner.

Leisk's reactionary attitudes, (far more extreme than those of any laird) were to be checked by 7-year leases for all tenants, by forbidding the raising of rents for fishing tenants, and by forbidding the prosecution of any tenant for more than the value of 1 year's rent.

Chapter 3:7. Dr. Kemp's Demagoguery

The first writer to comment on this episode was the Rev. Dr. Kemp, secretary of the SSPCK, who visited Shetland in 1799 with the object of persuading the lairds to fulfill their obligation to finance parochial schools. His "Observations on the islands of Shetland and their inhabitants ... with hints for their improvement" was written as a general survey and repeated all the allegations made by the critics of the 1770's, 80's and 90's. It was unfortunate for the lairds that Kemp, like Low and Pennant before him, visited the islands just before a renewed period of dearth, at a time when they were rather better off than they had been for some time; thus temporary necessity was no defence. Kemp summarised "the most burdensome of the grievances under which the people of Shetland labour, with the proper means of redress, were it possible to obtain them" in six points, which were the focus of later debate;

1; The lack of leases and the tenures "at will";

2; The lack of a free market for fish and other goods;

3; The "vexatious and oppresive" payments of scat etc., and the payment of labour services;

4; Smuggling, to prevent which he suggested a "compromise" with the landholders (although according to Edmondston the lairds had "openly renounced" any connexion with the practice in 1789);

5; The lack of manufactures;

6; The lack of parochial schools.

(Kemp, 1801, 35-38)

Once again Thomas Mouat rushed into ink; "A Letter by the Landholders of Shetland", published early in 1802, was based largely on his "Observations" of 1785, embellished with specific refutations of Kemp's weaker points. It was more specious than the 1785 paper, and peppered with the personal insults that characterised these later

exchanges. Nonetheless his answers to the six points are of some interest;

" ... to the first grievance we answer;
That the tenants in general being possessed of some degree of a wandering and unsettled disposition, desire not long leases. That in some parts they require to be bribed by a new house or some other gratification to accept of a five year lease; That none of them are tenants at will, because the shortest leases are for three years, according to the country practice, during which period no landlord has the power of removing them. And the truth is that many of them have desired leases for only one year, to be able to follow their inclinations in case of repenting at the expiry of it; That no good tenant is removed at the landlord's instance, generally speaking. That it is common for two or three generations of the same family to remain uninterruptedly on the same farm.

"To the second, we answer;
That we have already observed that it is uncertain whether the tenants would be gainers or losers by fishing solely on their own venture ... and that the tenants are free to purchase their necessaries where they please.

"To the third, we answer;
That we are more interested in the abolition of scat and other duties referred to, than the tenants themselves, because these come out of our own pockets eventually. It is only the balance remaining after those and the teinds that we can obtain as landrent. That there is not a man of us who would not cheerfully sacrifice the personal services due him, on a condition of his lands being cleared of a small proportion of the payments under this head.

"To the fourth;
We have acknowledged extensive smuggling to be detrimental to our tenants and consequently to ourselves. The majority of us wish it suppressed and are willing to adopt measures for that purpose, yet would be glad of some means to secure a comfortable refreshment to the fishers under every proper restriction as to quantity ...

"To the fifth;
We are at a loss as well as the Doctor to determine what manufactures might be carried on with success, and how the industry of the women might be brought to better account. Some years ago we sunk money in attempting a linen manufactory [1770], and lost the whole capital; one of coarse woollen cloth might have been more proper seeing we have the raw material. But we apprehend there is a restless spirit among the common people inimical to all sedentary employments. There is no doubt the tenants might improve their farms more than they in general do in the recess from fishing, but they have little inclination that way. The making of kelp has lately employed many women, girls and boys in the summer time to advantage. And we can with truth and pleasure state, that the common people of Shetland were never in such prosperity as at present, allegations of their grievances apply with less reason or truth. They have felt the war only in remittances from the Army and Navy, in the increase in the price of their labour, and of every article their farms could supply, and when they are not disturbed by demagogues they are generally contented and happy.

"To the sixth;
Many of us are of opinion that there is no want of schools for the education of youth of the lower order, for there are many occasional itinerant schools in most parts of the country equal to the purpose of their education, less expensive and far more convenient than legal parochial ones, as has already been observed, wherefore it would be unpopular and prejudicial to the people to insist on an establishment at their expense of which they could not reap the benefit."

Thomas Mouat could not resist the temptation to give Kemp a thorough telling-off for his meddling;

"In his conclusion he [Kemp] says 'Feeling for the situation of the inhabitants of Shetland (thanks to God they have no great need for his humanity) he has stated what occurred to his own observation, or what he was informed of upon respectable authority.' His own observations in the course of a week or so in which he ran through a part of the country could not warrant him in most of the assertions he has made. It requires time, judgement and penetration with cool deliberation to understand the real characters and political interests of a strange people and country; his authority could not be really respectable (whatever it might have appeared) because it seems to have been partial and false; "(most of it was from John Menzies, minister of Lerwick)" he has not given us the opportunity of discerning where he was deceived by his own judgement and where by authority; candour should have induced him to distrust the one and the other in condemning without qualification a set of men respectable by their situation, equal at least to himself in rank and birth, and many of them in education. Genuine philanthropy would have induced him to include that all ranks of Shetlanders within the limits of his benevolence in place of confining it to one order at the expense of another."

Lest he be thought partial himself, Mouat quoted the views, expressed as long ago as 1785, of the Rev. Mr. Sands, minister of Tingwall, in support of his defence. And he demanded;

"Had the oppression complained of really existed, is it probable that ten clergymen, proper guardians of the poor and afflicted, none of them natives, should all have been silent on that head in the Statistical Histories of Parishes, in which the situation of the lower class is a peculiar object of attention and discussion?" (My emphases throughout.)

His reading of the Statistical Accounts was clearly somewhat different from ours; let alone Dr. Kemp's.

Chapter 3:8. Vindicator's "Vile Slanders"

The controversy was continued the following year by a friend of Dr. Kemp, the Rev. David Savile, minister of the Cowgate in Edinburgh, who signed his 55 page denunciation as "Vindicator". The battle became more bitter, with both sides threatening litigation; despite the vitriolic verbosity of his style, Savile made some very damaging points; he was aware that Thomas Mouat was the author of "The Landholders", he made fun of his gout, and used ironic quotes from the Statistical Account of Unst to illustrate his barbs;

"Says the landholder ... 'it is generally understood to be for the interest of the tenant.' I would rather say, that it is generally understood, that when the tenant returns from the fishing, he meets his family poorer than when he left them; and that the larger his share in the boat to which he belongs, the deeper he is generally plunged in debt and distress; yet this is for his interest! One has need of patience, indeed, to tolerate such absurdity ... "

" ... the landholder says that he and the other lairds 'sell the principal necessaries of fishing ... without profit and frequently at loss.' Of a single instance of this I never before heard; and that such instances are common I deny. Profits, the most exhorbitant, are sometimes demanded, as is evident from processes which have been carried on before the Sheriff court and which will perhaps, at a future period, see the light."

"Smuggling has no doubt been carried on in Shetland to a great extent, and to say that the lairds have been chiefly concerned in the traffic, is no 'vile slander' - it is a well-known truth. A few years ago, several of them were even owners of smuggling vessels, and some of them still try the trade ... and is this landholder, ... altogether free from the charge? Has not his fortune been ameliorated, perhaps created by this honourable practice?"

"We are told [by the landholder] that 'it is an undoubted political maxim, that the prosperity of a political society is in the proportion of its population, and that none will deny that population is increased by small farms; ergo, small farms are preferable to large ones.' This unlimited maxim ... no man will hazard who is at all acquainted with political subjects; for it can only hold true when the inhabitants of a country are well and profitably employed. When not so employed, increase of population will tend to anything rather than the increase of prosperity. And alas! this is but too well verified in the case of the Shetlanders. They, unfortunately, have population without corresponding employment."

Savile reminded the lairds of their legal responsibility to provide parochial schools,

"yet the heritors choose rather to have old women, and half-educated men, teaching private schools. Why? Because these cost the heritors nothing.

"I am the more satisfied of this, from the opinion of a much respected character whom I have long had the pleasure of knowing and who for many years has been resident in Shetland.* He thus writes; 'The truth is, the Doctor's zeal for the establishment of parochial schools in this country, is what has given such deadly offence. To my certain knowledge there are some amongst us who hate the name. Yet they pretend to say, that they wish to have schools for the education of youth. How unaccountable and inconsistent this!'"

" ... the landholder informs us that one of his friends lately forced his tenants to become free, and that this has turned out much to their disadvantage. 'In friendship,' says he, 'we supress our brother's name, lest he incur the Doctor's praise.' Mr. Hunter of Lunna is certainly the gentleman he means. His tenants currently enjoy the blessing of freedom. If it was forced upon them, they are now however so sensible of its advantages, that it would be no easy matter to force it from them. The first year of their "experimental freedom" the number of boats in the ling-fishing was, I believe, ... reduced to nine. And was this wonderful, when they had nothing but their own slender stock on which to begin their fishing operations? The year after, however [1801], the number of boats was considerably greater; and this may be looked upon as a proof of increasing wealth. Mr. Hunter's tenants, since their emancipation, are well known to have fished with wonderful spirit and success. No complaints have been heard of the quality of the fish caught and cured by the free fishermen of Shetland, nor have they ever been sold at an inferior price." ~~(cf. p. 40 above)~~.

"It is alleged that Lord Dundas's 'tenants are in the same state of bondage with the other tenants in the country.' If this be the case, the fault is not to be imputed to Lord Dundas. His ... property in the several parishes of Shetland is let to tacksmen. The lairds are commonly the tacksmen. Some of them ... may take unwarrantable liberties, and reduce their subtenants to the same state of bondage with the rest; but by their leases they are restricted from all such oppression, as well as from raising rents and removing tenants, without the consent andapprobation of the factor."

"The tenants "all complain of the precarious tenure by which they hold their little farms. They speak of it as an intolerable grievance, and an insurmountable bar against their attempting any improvement. On a five year's lease they may be unwilling to build new houses; and who but a Shetland landlord would expect that they should? There are some in the country, however, to whom much longer leases are granted, and these are the envy of all around them."

* Almost certainly the Rev. John Menzies.

As the coup de grace, Savile produced a letter from the Rev. Mr. Sands of Tingwall, retracting his comments of 1785, for "Since that time the country has undergone many changes, and few of them for its benefit." He reported that Mr. Sands

"now wishes to see [the tenants] all placed on the same respectable footing with those on the estates of Sumburgh and Lunna. Indeed, as a Christian, and a Christian minister, he must wish them to be freed from thralldom; to be encouraged to advance in general improvement; and for this purpose to have ... seminaries in every parish for the instruction of their children. May the propitious accomplishment of this speedily take place! To contribute his part to promote it, was Dr. Kemp's earnest desire, and the object of his journey to Shetland."

The lairds could not resist the temptation to reply, but it was Robert Hunter who drafted "A second letter from the landholders", after consulting his uncle about the spacing of the "jokes". Thomas Mouat urged him to "draw 'Vindicator' out", that they might identify him and prosecute for libel and "sedition". Vindicator was "demolished" line by line with exhaustive and often spurious evidence. Other pamphleteers, signing themselves "Thule" and "A Friend to Zetland" followed and confused the arguments still further. Hunter was reduced to atacking the critics' qualifications rather than their logic;

" ... shall a system which by the credit and assistance afforded by the landlord enables the tenant to pursue his most lucrative employment to the best advantage, which is sanctioned and approved by the experience of ages and encouraged by the wisdom of the legislature, be suddenly abandoned, at the instigation of every speculating tourist, casual visitor, ignorant presumptuous stranger who may fancy a different system preferable? It is absurd to suppose it. When circumstances shall naturally lead to a change, it will take place, without convulsion, but no sooner. We are happy to observe less reluctance in the tenants to such change than formerly, and that in time they may be reconciled to it, may be able to find increased security to the landlord for an increased rent, and relieve him of the great trouble, constant attention and mental exertion, which the present system subjects him to."

Mouat and Hunter's advantage over their critics was precisely that they were better informed. To each general allegation theywere able to reply with particular contradictory examples, and to each particular allegation they could answer that the example had been selectively chosen

and that a longer stay in Shetland might have convinced their opponent of the general soundness of their (the lairds') arguments. By the ministers' criteria the lairds were oppressing their tenants, and by the lairds' criteria the tenants were doing as well as could be expected in the "order of subordination in society" of the time.

The critics' weakness was that they were not proposing any radically different system. The lairds' fears of the propogation of French Revolutionary ideas were unfounded. They did not question the right of the landlord to own land and charge rents; not the right of a merchant to foreclose on debtors; they had the same concepts of material progress as the lairds, and would certainly not have supported any significant equalisation of the distribution of economic wealth and social status. The "emancipation" they advocated was, as Mouat pointed out, no more than a substitution of creditors. "The Zetland method" had glaring defects, but at least it bound the orders of society with bonds of mutual obligation which provided a bare minimum of security for even the poorest tenants. These bonds were of more value than the ink and paper of the merchant's ledgers, despite their restrictive effect on personal liberty.

It was a semi-feudal, patriarchal society, although different in many ways from the clans of the Highlands and Western Isles, and it was radically different from the purely cash nexus represented by the Lerwick merchants and favoured by not only Dr. Kemp and Co. but also, eventually, by the lairds themselves.

It is highly significant that in the mid nineteenth century, when the merchants had eclipsed the lairds economically and had become their social equals (in the Masonic Lodge of Lerwick and elsewhere), the number of landless poor rose dramatically; the famines of the 1830's and 1840's appear to have been at least as bad as those of the

eighteenth century; large scale evictions and emigration were nineteenth rather than eighteenth century phenomena; and when the Truck Commission and the Crofter's Commission reported in 1871 and 1886 respectively, the worst substantiated charges of oppression were often levelled against merchants who had acquired estates.

Chapter 3:9. The Uyea Whale Case

What did the tenants think of all this controversy about their status? Most of them were probably too busy trying to survive (at least in 1801 - 1807) to think about it. A few were probably unaware of it. It is doubtful if there was always consistent support for the ministers; there is an old saying that Scotland never brought Shetland anything but "dear meal and greedy ministers", and the payment of teinds in kind was probably as much a source of resentment as the obligation to fish for their lairds, particularly as it was less easy to evade.

The tenants' resistance to leases is well documented. Long experience had taught them to distrust any innovation suggested by their superiors. Resistance generally took the form of dumb insolence, habitual indolence, and feigned respect for laird and minister. Recorded instances of physical resistance were extremely rare; Brian Smith, in his studies of the traditionally belligerent community of Cunningsburgh (1971), suggests that the tenants relieved their frustrations in "mutual recrimination and assault". (p.c. and unpublished mss).

Only one major act of defiance is recorded during the period under discussion. The "Uyea Whale Case" of 1805 - 1807 made Scottish legal history, and most accounts of it concentrate on the contradictions that it illustrated between Udal and Scots Law, but it was also an event of considerable social and economic significance.

In February 1805 the tenants of the isle of Uyea, assisted by men from the farms and bothies on the Unst shore of Uyeasound, drove ashore 190 pilot whales on the beach near Thomas Mouat's Uyeasound booth. The following month they stranded a further 120, and late in 1806

50 more in the same place.

Under Udal law the rights of a landed proprietor extended to the lowest ebb of the tide; there was no concept of the Crown acting as trustee of the foreshore for the public. By the eighteenth century the Shetland custom was that any wood washed ashore was seized by the "Admiral Depute", an official appointed by Morton or Dundas and usually a laird himself (in this case Thomas Bolt of Cruister, Bressay). It was then valued and/or sold, a third of the proceeds going to Dundas, a third to the laird on whose shores it had landed, and a third to the salver(s). (cf p. 93 above).

Whales were not a common item in the Admiral's accounts of the eighteenth century (many of which are preserved but so far uncatalogued at Gardie). Although the driving of pilot whales (called "caain' whales" in Shetland) was and still is a regular activity in Faeroe,* the evidence from the Uyea case is that for a period of 70 or 80 years before 1805 there had been no large drive in Shetland. (Edmondston reported that "whales had entirely deserted Shetland for 50 or 60 years prior to 1784" - No. 1,943, 1811). Consequently there was no precedent in living memory for their division, apart from half-remembered old tales. Few had seen or could read the old documents that supposedly laid down the third-share rule. Thomas Mouat resorted to a book written in Faeroe by a Danish Bishop in 1673 to elucidate the Norse law on "grind whaals".

The ringleaders of the whale drives were unfortunate enough to be tenants of Thomas Leisk, who owned Uyea isle and very little else but was factor for several large estates and as we have seen had extremely rigid views on the tenants and their station. Thomas Mouat's ageing factotum Thomas Arthurson and his tacksman George Irvine of Hoversta

* Williamson, 1948

were sent to claim the third for Mouat and the third for the Crown (and a bit of the fishermen's third to Irvine for his trouble); they were astonished to find the fishermen claiming all of the whales and threatening violence to anyone who interfered.

The situation was complicated by the arrival of an Edinburgh lawyer, Thomas Small, W.S., at Lerwick; it was said that he had been sent by Dr. Kemp, Mr. Savile and their "junto" to seek out conflicts in which the lairds could be prosecuted for their oppressions. Uyea was a perfect test-case, or so it seemed; Small persuaded the fishermen to go to law in the Court of Session, took evidence, collected £10 in his hat for his fees, and returned to Edinburgh.

Thomas Mouat and his flunkeys were horrified; his tacksman James Nisbet wrote;

"Speculators and adventurers in trade and merchandise have sometimes been seen in this country, but we never before saw lawyers come to it merely for the purpose of searching out and picking up processes."

He complained of the "threats and deadly hatred of ignorant boors and fishermen ... " but the ringleaders were in fact among the more prosperous of the Shetland tenants and they certainly knew what they were doing. Even so, after Small's departure they rashly boasted of their imagined victory, and in November 1806 Thomas Leisk gravely informed their lawyer

" ... that the people who drove those whales on shore have become so desperate, ferocious and insolent in their conduct and manners, since they advised with you at Lerwick, that individuals who oppose their unreasonable claims consider their personal safety in danger, so much that their lives have been threatened; now, sir, this is an affair that is not to be trifled with, when the minds of the multitude are infuriated against their superiors in a situation 40 miles distant from either magistrates or military to protect the subject.

" ... the present is to desire of you to write a letter to those misled and deluded people, ... to behave with moderation, civility and respect ... to their superiors, inferiors and equals ... for your word and opinion are now their law, and they will listen to none else.

"Bruce Sinclair and my other three tenants in Uyea were here the other day. I will do them the justice to say that they have hitherto behaved with a sufficient degree of moderation and civility in their conduct, but to my utter astonishment I now find they have taken on a savage-like rudeness and insufferable impudence in their manners which no person of feeling can bear.

"Now, sir, the first fruits of this same affair will be the removal of these four families from the island at first term, where I will aver they have been sitting easier and more comfortable than any other people of their rank and circumstances in Scotland; for rather than submit to such treatment from them and their advisers I shall make the island a sheepwalk which altho' it will be more agreeable to the system in your part of the kingdom, we reckon it a want of humanity to turn out the human species to make way for the brute part of the creation, yet what will not man do when he is unjustly provoked?

"And I really hope to hear that many more of their seditious set will share the same fate. My tenants very gravely told me that they now had a right to make laws unto themselves.

"Should I again put down tenants on Uyea, besides raising the rent, I intend to stipulate with them not only for a part of what whales they drive on my shores but also for a certain proportion of their share of what whales they may drive on shores belonging to other heritors, if I choose to take it; and let me see the man or law that can prevent me from doing so if I please.

Now, sir, from this you will easily see that every interference by third parties betwixt landlord and tenant in this country will always turn out for the disadvantage of the latter.

"I believe it has always been a dangerous point to meddle with ancient and established customs, especially where the multitude are concerned, and I suppose that the British government itself has never ordered them to be knocked down all at once with the but ends of muskets. I am really astonished to find that what is called club law should be thought of at the very seat of the Scots law and justice, when it has not been known in this remote corner for God knows how long."

Small replied;

"My advice to the fishermen was not to consent to Messrs Irvine and Arthurson taking from them the half of the whales (which was only a third in former times), but if these gentlemen insisted in their demand, to suffer them to take the fish without opposing them by strong means or violence, and thereupon to submit the case to the supreme court. This advice afterwards required their compliance in a greater degree, if possible, as Messrs Irvine and Arthurson it seems applied for a warrant or interdict and obtained it from the Judge Admiral Substitute of Shetland prohibiting the fishermen from taking away the half of the whales claimed by these gentlemen.

"I hope ... that you and your tacksman will not conduct yourselves in an overbearing manner to them, for I know that the tenantry in Shetland are kept in the most oppressed and deplorable state of dependence and wretchedness by some (not the whole) of the landholders,

which is a disgrace to the British nation and the name of liberty. If such landlords are made to feel for their monstrous injustice and cruelty, it is what they richly deserve, and be assured they will sooner or later find it."

(GP 1806)

Over 100 men claimed to have been salvers of the whales, but the vast majority accepted Mouat's terms and accepted a half-share. Those few who held out lost the case when it finally came before the Lord in Ordinary in 1808, and no more was heard of it or of Mr. Small (or the tenants' £10). In May of the previous year three more salvers, all Uyea men, had given in and apologised to Thomas Leisk, who reported to Mouat in May 1807 that

"I have settled Uyea again as follows - James Gardner, John Henderson and Edward Brown acknowledged their error in applying to Mr. Small about the whales, and made an apology for it in the best way they could. I therefore agreed to enter into new terms with them. Bruce Sinclair would make no concessions nor apology, but on the contrary behaved with a good degree of insolence to me to the last even after he was warned, but was at the same time willing to remain on the island. I therefore resolved to dismiss him, and he goes at Martinmas."

"Poor Edward Brown who was the civilest of them all, after he had agreed here to remain, found on his return home that his sons were all setting off for Greenland and otherwise, because of the toil about the great labouring [of the fields], sent me notice that he behoved to leave the island against his will as he was unable to keep it when his sons left him."

Edward Brown's farm was split between the three remaining tenants on Uyea, who were bound under new agreements to give their laird a half-share of all whales and wood. This clause was subsequently inserted into all Mouat's tacks and leases, and was the main result of the "whale process".

Leisk was not satisfied even then;

"Do you not think" he asked Mouat, "that it would be right to intimate to the Commanding Officer of the Ships of War at Leith to press as many Shetland men out of the Greenland ships as they can get before they land, as they did last year? I find it is the greatest bar of any against the men going in that vile trade - for although a good many have gone this year from the country they were more tardy than I ever saw them just for fear of being impressed, so much so that many ships have sailed wanting a boat's crew or so. Yet the Greenland agents at Lerwick feel upon every way to kidnap them ... " (See Chapter 6) (GP 1807).

He also suggested that they try to have the Country Acts ratified either by act of Parliament or by the Court of Session, so as they might be put into force by the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace in Shetland. This highlights the real problem facing the lairds when dealing with unrest in the north isles of Shetland. They could keep most of the population quiescent by a mixture of threats and blandishments; even quite serious disturbances could be contained by the threat of eviction or prosecution for debt; the Uyea men might have enjoyed their temporary defiance of the establishment, but they could never have imagined seriously that they could rid themselves of lairds. As prosperous tenants one of their ambitions was to become landowners themselves. (In February 1808 several of the ringleaders were bidding "exhorbitant" prices for a piece of land for sale in Framgord township, (No. 1,840) and James Pennant of Muness thought that at least three of the Uyea men had enough money stacked away to live quite comfortably even if they were evicted. (No. 1,787))

It was easy for Leisk to declare that

"If any court in Britain overlooks the just privileges annexed to property, I am certain that all law and subordination will be at an end in Shetland, and the people will think themselves at liberty to do what they please." (No. 1,783),

but the trouble was that the lairds did feel some obligation to justify their actions to southern contemporaries. James Nisbet the tacksman consoled Mouat with the thought that " [although] we know as well as Mr. Small that there is no express law allowing heritors any certain share of whales or of wrecks, ... we also know that there is no law, either common or statutory, obliging them to sustain damages or injury to their property without an adequate reward, and if Mr. Small's law and advice are to be adopted neither the heritors nor their property can be safe."

Here there was some confusion; the lairds and their factors and tacksmen were not sure whether they should defend their actions on the grounds of established local tradition (such as the third share rule) or to resort to circuitous arguments based on Scots law (such as claims for "damages"). The lairds objected to paying skatt yet they were the first to resort to traditional semi-Norse institutions such as rancelmen - a form of private police force with no legal status whatsoever.

The Uyea case coincided with the publication of yet another largely hostile description of the state of affairs in Shetland. An Edinburgh printer, Patrick Neill, visited the islands in 1805 and his observations were printed the following year. He claimed to have no prior connexion with Kemp or Savile, but came to similar conclusions. He compiled his notes "chiefly from conversations with the little fishing farmers (who possibly never heard of Vindicator, nor of the literary campaigns in the south, of their own lairds.)"

"Thule", almost certainly Robert Hunter, replied with his "Strictures" and a great deal of personal abuse; the now familiar arguments were rehearsed, but Neill's work had the distinction of being the best written of its kind.

Chapter 3:10. "Edmondston's Production"

All these productions were eclipsed by the publication in 1809 of Arthur Edmondston's "View of the ancient and present state of the Zetland islands."

Edmondston was an Edinburgh physician, the brother of Thomas Edmondston, who had succeeded to the lands of Sanderson of Buness by marrying the heiress. Edmondston's book was and is a major contribution to studies of the development of the local economy and society. Despite his anachronistic political attitudes, and his habit of digressing from the point to attack the practice of male-midwifery or some other hobby-horse, the work remains essential reading and is still unsurpassed for fluency of style and breadth of content. Edmondston's comments on specific agricultural, economic and social topics are dealt with in Chapters 4, 5 & 6 below. Here we need only note the contemporary significance of the book as a partial but authoritative vindication of the lairds' conduct, at least in the eyes of the Edinburgh literati; William Mouat through otherwise; "On the whole it is to be regretted that many of the sentiments of Dr. Kemp, his echo Mr. Savile, and P. Neil should occur in a work execute in a stile to which none of them are equal," (No. 1,943) and made alarmist comments on stirring up the minds of "the multitude".

The main value of the work is its thoroughness; yet despite exhaustive research he did not suggest any improvements that had not been suggested before. An example of his voluminous conclusions illustrates the liberal rather than radical nature of his point of view;

> "Now, it would be unreasonable to expect that a landholder, either to accomodate particular tenants, or to gratify the wish of a speculative philanthropist, shall forego those positive advantages which he has been accustomed to receive from his property. Such expectations may be entertained, but I believe there are few individuals in any part of the world who would be disposed to carry them into practice." (I. 319)

(He had obviously not met Bruce Sinclair of Uyea).

By avoiding the personal animosities of other writers and by concentrating on bettering the conditions of the tenants within the existing and unquestioned rights of the landowners, he effectively defused the arguments. His remedy was the introduction of leases, the want of which was "the true cause of the hardships, whether real or pretended, of which the latter complain."

(I. 320)

He examined in detail the charges of oppression, but concluded

"It appears to me that if these allegations are to be considered as general principles, they are false, and founded in erroneous conceptions of the subject; but that the occasional practice of severity on the part of the proprietor, and of meanness and duplicity on that of the tenant, is the natural result of a system where all power is on one side, and all the dependence on the other, and whence neither of the parties is under the influence of a responsible agreement."

(I. 321)

Even his chapter

"On the connexion which subsists between the Zetland landholders and their tenants, and of some improvements of which this system appears to be capable",

ended with the comforting remark that

" ... a radically good change in this system ought not to be considered the exclusive work of any particular class of individuals; it requires the co-operation of many;"

(I. 337)

William Mouat wrote a tedious and largely frivolous criticism of the work for the Edinburgh Review (No. 1,943) but otherwise there was little opposition to Edmondston's opinions, and most were relieved that the controversies at last appeared to have ended.

Five years later, in 1814, another outsider, Mr. Shirreff of the Board of Agriculture, published his "Agriculture of the Shetland islands". While expressing his incredulity at the claims of Thomas Leisk and others that they were losing money in the fish trade, he too averred with studied impartiality that

"The present state of society has not been brought into existence by any premeditated plan or scheme of the landowners of Shetland, for the purpose of taking advantage of the lower class of inhabitants; but has arisen out of the circumstances of the country."

Chapter 3:11. The Bressay Ministers

In the meantime another class of inhabitants were again giving trouble; the ministers of Bressay had always been tiresome, none more so than John Menzies and his predecessor Patrick Mair (on whose demise Scott of Scalloway wrote to Gardie;

"I shall not condole you on the death of that poor unhappy man who has so long been a plague to everyone who had the least connexion with him, neither shall I congratulate you ...").

Menzies had successfully sued for an augmentation of his stipend in 1795, and his successor John Fleming decided in 1811 to try for a full valuation of the teinds. The teinds were a source of great bitterness to all. As long as they were paid wholly or partly in kind, and the measures were not constant, conflict was inevitable. The minister's attacks on the lairds' weight-fiddling were not entirely disinterested, but they perceived the valuation of teinds as of benefit to the tenants as well as themselves.

John Menzies had consorted with Dr. Kemp in 1799 and had incurred John Mouat's fury for circulating "Vindicator", but by 1811 he was the acknowledged leader of the Shetland ministers, and they all gave their full support to "Fleming's process", as it came to be known.

It was a test case and Thomas Mouat knew it. In February 1811 he sent an urgent note to his fellow heritors, suggesting that they fight it as a "country cause" paid for by subscription;

" ... he [Fleming] has thought proper to establish the concern which each tenant has in the ling fishing, to investigate the prices of wet fish and the expense of fitting out fishing boats. From all of which it is evident although singular, that he means to establish the profits of fishing as a branch of landrent, to be added to the real rent, and become a new fund for teinds.

"I need not say there is neither law nor precedent for this, but you will readily perceive that if the minister succeed against me, the matter will not rest there, and the system will be extended all over the country, and affect the interest of every landlord in it most materially."

(No. 1,922)

The case dragged on for 5 years, and the ministers not only won their point but were awarded substantial expenses. Among the papers generated were the depositions of most of the tenants of Bressay, listing their lands, rents, teinds, and whether they were fishers or "free".

The result was a bitter blow for Thomas Mouat and his cronies; they were not used to losing. The significance of the alliance between ministers and tenants was not unnoticed, but their victory was never followed up. Mouat consoled himself with a successful scheme for purchasing all the feu duties, skatt and other "casualties and superiorities" payable from his lands to Dundas, who had at last decided to dispose of these troublesome sources of revenue. By 1814 the deal was completed, and many other lairds followed his example. In July that year he wrote to his neighbour Thomas Edmondston of Buness (one of Dundas's tacksmen) congratulating him "on the finishing of that business, which makes us real lairds of our property." And so feudalism in the purely teneurial sense came to an end in Shetland, exactly 150 years after Douglas of Spynie's expedition to sell feudal charters to the gullible udallers.

Chapter 3:12. The Upstart Merchants of Lerwick

Although the irksome Scandinavian dues of sheep-money, ox-money, wattle, Skatt, etc. ceased to be paid to Dundas, they were still paid to Mouat by his tenants! The "feudal" system of laird-tenant relationships continued unabated, but although the Mouats had reinforced their right to their property it was no longer enough to counter the power of merchants of Lerwick and elsewhere. The end of the Napoleonic Wars saw the beginning of the merchants' rise to real prosperity, and their increased confidence in challenging the hegemony of the lairds.

One who was particularly bold in this respect was Mr. Hay of Lerwick (founder of the present Hay & Company); in 1824, five years after Thomas Mouat's death, he openly confronted the ageing John Mouat who, in his declining years,had spent much time on a pet scheme to construct Lerwick's first quays and dock facilities; the site was half a mile north of the usual landing place where goods had to be carried ashore by "flit boat". Hay, who had been involved in disputes with Mouat in 1810 and 1812 about quarries in the local hoga, influenced the Collector of Customs, Thomas Fea, to refuse to extend the legal limits of the port of Lerwick to include the new dock at "Garth's Pool"; thus no goods for export or import could be shipped at Garthspool unless previously landed by flit boat at the old waterfront, examined by Customs, and re-shipped. Only after an appeal to the House of Lords (following John Mouat's death) was this restriction lifted. William Mouat's scurrilous comments to the family lawyer indicate the extent of the merchants' audacity;

"When Mr. Fea first came here my father became one of his cautioners, but his habits and extravagance soon shewed that this was a very unsafe act of goodwill. Upon the death therefore of the other cautioner some years ago, my father took the opportunity of refusing to renew his cautionary. This has rankled in Fea's mind ever since and he has taken every opportunity of giving my father all those petty annoyances which his official position put in his power ...

" ... on the other hand, Fea is a relation of Hay's and in habits of intimacy with him; he is needy and unprincipled and Hay being extensively engaged in trade no doubt finds it extremely convenient to keep the Collector of Customs at his finger ends, and occasionally run some risks in the way of accomodating him. I have little doubt that Fea is considerably in debt to Hay, though I do not know it with certainty."

(GP January 1824)

There is a certain irony in the similarity between William Mouat's complaints about "Mr Collector Fea, a man of low and profligate habits ... " and the polemic of Peter Innes of Frackafield against the Mouats and their "line of forts" protected by John Mouat as Surveyor of Customs nearly 50 years before. The history of the nineteenth century struggles between merchants and lairds has yet to be written.

Chapter 3:13. The Baliasta "Gold Rush"

The last writer to publish his observations on "the Zetland method" during the period of this study was

"A Doctor Samuel Hibbert who was here upon a mineralogical tour in 1818 and 1819 and who has written a huge quarto about Shetland which perhaps you have seen ... "

as William Mouat described him to his lawyer in 1823. Hibbert's "Shetland Islands" is an excellent topographical description, originally intended as a geological treatise alone, but he could not avoid reviving long dormant controversies about oppression, etc.

Perhaps his most startling effect on Shetland, and in particular on Unst, was to discover "a very rare and valuable mineral" - iron chromate, in large surface deposits. Many years before, false hopes had been roused of a coal deposit in the south west of Unst, by a visitor from Anglesey to Belmont (Mss. OSA. Unst), so perhaps the Unst lairds were a little sceptical of Hibbert's claims. Not so Thomas Edmondston, on whose land there were deposits within the hill dykes - most of the chromate was in the hoga. In something of a panic William Mouat wrote to his lawyer

"I would wish not to lose time unnecessarily as Edmondston is carrying on like smoke and will preoccupy all the markets before we can come into the field."

The dispute about mineral rights in the hoga of Baliasta was resolved by one of the speediest divisions of commonty ever known in Shetland. This had been suggested as an agricultural improvement as early as 1793, but it took the promise of a new source of real wealth to stimulate the lairds to action. The proceeds from open-cast mining in Unst were to be a valuable source of cash to support the more affluent life-styles and travelling habits of the nineteenth century Mouats and Edmondstons. (One wonders what their reaction would have

been to the discovery of vast oil reserves off the coast!)

In the following chapters there is detailed discussion of the changes in economic geography, demography and land tenure that occurred during the period 1775 to 1824; many of the publications and manuscripts referred to above are quoted again below, for most are important sources of factual information as well as contributions to social polemic, and it is in the former "objective" context that they are used below.

PART II
Chapter 4.

~~PART I~~

The Estate and its Produce

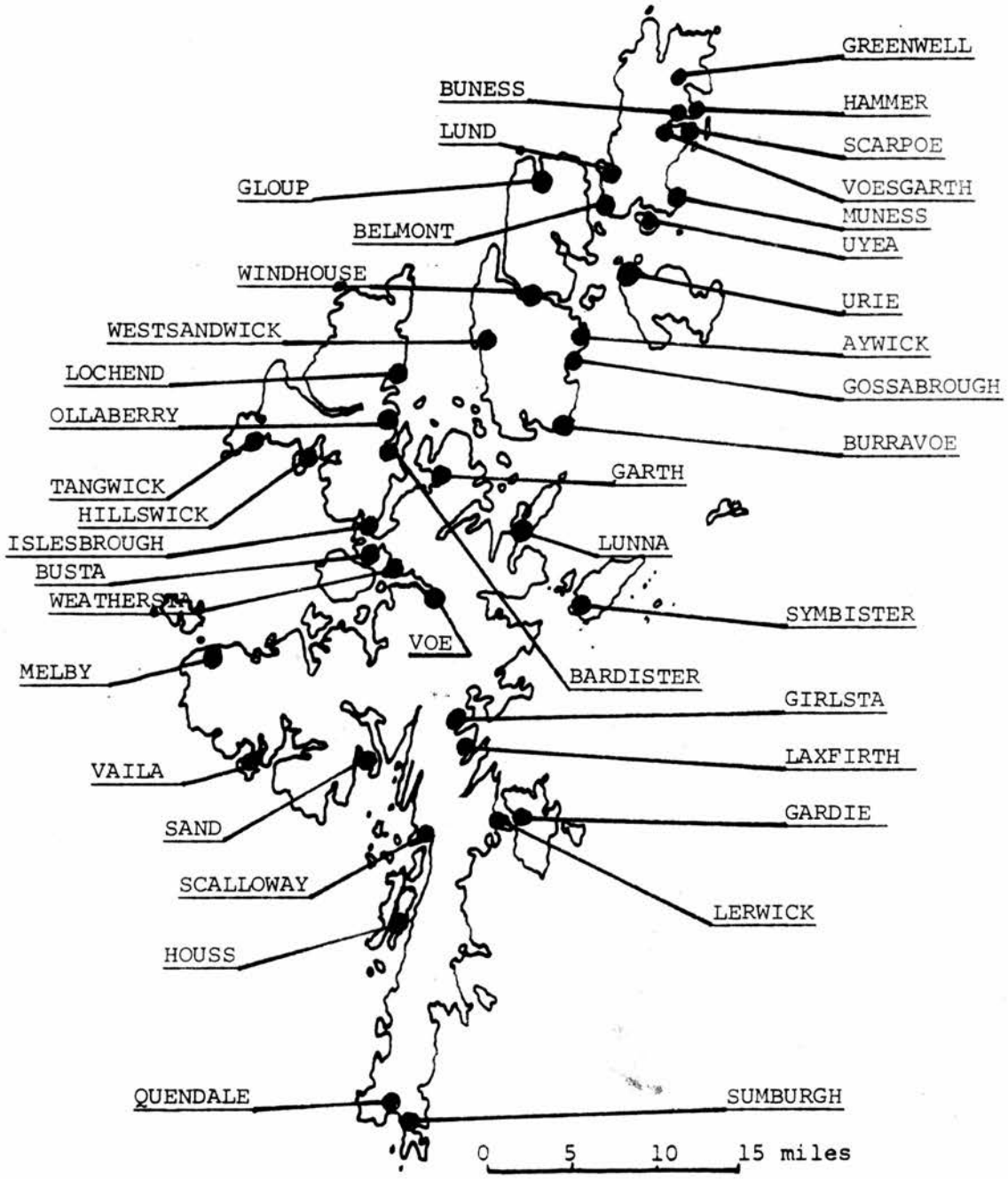
Chapter 4:1. Marriage and the Land

Some understanding of the lairds' kinship linkages is essential to the study of the growth of landed estates. Map 3 shows how Thomas Mouat's family connexions, which were often also his business connexions, reached every corner of the islands. This ramification of contacts was noted both by visitors and by local contemporaries such as Peter Innes. The detailed interrelationships of the landowning families can be reconstructed from such works as F. Grant's "Zetland County Families" (the copy used by the present writer was annotated and corrected by the late Captain Cameron of Garth) and from manuscripts such as Thomas Mouat's "Holograph Signature Book" of 1814.

Laird's sons could marry other laird's daughters, or minister's daughters or the daughters of shipmasters and Lerwick merchants. Marriage outside the islands was more frequent than their remoteness would suggest, particularly among the landowning class.

Marriage alliances were of crucial importance to the maintenance of the lairds' hegemony; estates were often inherited only after prolonged recrimination and litigation. Very few inheritances were uncontested; titles were often shaky or deeds missing; ~~(see Appendix)~~ by no means all transactions were registered in sasines and charters. Debts were another source of complication. As we have seen, James Henderson possessed his father's lands for over 30 years before he had paid off enough of the debts to risk being "served heir in special" - his father had died intestate. He was fortunate that none of his close relatives had a good claim to the estate and thus he could possess the lands without title. Had any of his numerous creditors (including the Mouats) managed to force him to

SOME OF THE FAMILY HOUSES OF THE LANDOWNERS MAP 3(a)



"enter heir" to the estate they could have ruined him at any time. He was protected by two points in his favour.

1; Creditors were reluctant to pursue him for his father's debts since he was only 11 years old when his father died. Personal considerations of this nature played a large part in determining the fate of many Shetland estates.

2; He married in 1756 the daughter of the Collector of Customs, a respected and feared man. Thus he had influence even when he was penniless.

The differences in the family histories of the Mouats and Hendersons illustrate the struggles between Norse and Scots ways in the society of the seventeenth and eighteenth century Shetland.

As Thomas Mouat observed;

"The Hendersons are of Norwegian origin, almost the only family of that extraction which attained to wealth and eminence in Shetland. They possessed lands in North Yell and Unst very long ago."

(HSB, 1814, f.12)

So long ago, in fact, that because of their adherence to the patronymic custom, they are very difficult to trace in the documents before the late sixteenth century. The nuclei of their estates were the farms of Buness and Gardie, on some of the best land in Unst and on either shore of one of the best anchorages in the north of Shetland, Baltasound. A descendant of William Magnusson (the earliest member of the family to leave records of his existence) lives at the house of Buness to this day.

This "direct line" of the Henderson family, who moved to Bressay in the early years of the eighteenth century, became extinct in 1797 with the death of James Henderson.

While the Hendersons bought relatively little land after the acquisition of Bressay and Noss, the Mouats' estates were from the start

in a state of flux and aggressive expansion. Andrew Mouat of Swinzie, Caithness, came to Shetland in the early 1570's, probably as a rent-farmer for the lands of the Earldom. He acquired an estate of some 200 merks in Northmavine, possibly as a gift from Bothwell. The direct line of the family stayed on his original home farm at Hogaland, where little more is heard of them besides the fact that they also bought land on the other side of the Northmavine peninsular, at Hamnavoe.

Another branch of the Mouats built up an extensive land-holding at Ollaberry, a little to the south. The lands of Garth, across Sullom Voe in the parish of Delting, had been acquired by the mid - seventeenth century by a son of Gilbert Mouat (himself the 5th son of the original Andrew Mouat of Hogaland). Our Thomas Mouat was a descendant of this branch, but a discontinuity in the succession meant that his great-grandfather Arthur Mouat, and his grandfather Robert Mouat were forced into other lines of business in order to survive. Thus Robert Mouat was one of the first to attempt to fill the gap left by the German merchants, but his family were by no means well off. Nonetheless, by the time that the estate reverted to William Mouat in 1767 they had accumulated considerable wealth by trade and shipowning; there is no evidence that William's father Robert Mouat ever owned any sizeable quantity of land.

When his father died young, William Mouat and his brother and sisters were taken care of financially by Robert Mouat's cousin Thomas Mouat, the last representative of the "usurper" line of the family. Despite this avuncular interest, William Mouat had to make his own way in the world; in the 1740's, while his contemporary James Henderson of Gardie was leading the life of a young country gentleman (albeit a debt-stricken one), William Mouat was skippering trading

sloops and operating booths on his own account in Yell and Unst. The money he made from this was put into land - adding to his small patrimonial estate in North Unst.

Such complicated family and personal histories were not unusual in seventeenth and eighteenth century Shetland; if the younger sons of the lairds could not find an heiress to marry, they had to sink or swim among the tacksmen, landless merchants, forestallers and upstarts. In the process the family boundaries between the landowners, landowner-merchants and landless merchants became rather blurred. The distinction between the true merchant-laird "class" i.e. the twenty 'great' families, and the rest was very pronounced, but individuals wandered across the social and economic boundaries of class roles, sometimes more than once in a lifetime.

The problem of supporting younger sons was never successfully resolved in terms of the provision of land. By the mid seventeenth century even Norse families like the Hendersons had adopted a form of primogeniture for dealing with inheritance of land. In the early eighteenth century at least, these younger sons appear to have been the keenest purchasers of small properties from the remaining udallers. Meanwhile many of the first sons who inherited established estates went broke in the uncertainties of the 1690's, the 1710's and the 1730's. The departure of the Germans meant that they had to spend far more time and money on trade and less on land management.

To sum up the essential contrasts between the positions of James Henderson and Thomas Mouat;

Mouat was the representative of a "cadet" branch of an old Scots settler family, whose direct line at no time attained the sort of power and prestige which James Henderson's father Magnus (for example)

inherited in 1724. However, Thomas Mouat and his father, by virtue of the smaller scale of their business, were not burdened with the sort of debts that weighed down Magnus Henderson in the 1720's, as the representative of the direct line of an old-established Shetland family. William Mouat's father also incurred debt, but he was operating in a smaller way than Magnus Henderson and he did not have to devote much time to land management in the early days.

This helps to explain the apparent contradictions to the pattern one might have expected from a glance at the physical location of the two estates. It now seems less curious that James Henderson's estate, an enterprise with valuable, compact holdings on the doorstep of the only urban centre in Shetland, should have declined so drastically in the eighteenth century; and that Thomas Mouat, the son of a relatively landless merchant struggling to acquire scattered parcels of land in islands remote from Lerwick, should have gained so much in the same period.

Attempts to generalise about factors influencing the growth and decline of the "landed interest" should not obscure the fact that such haphazard events as unexpected deaths, disinheritances, childless marriages etc., cannot be accommodated within generalisations. The social structure of the landowning "class" was changed by what often seemed to contemporaries to be unplanned, unexpected, and extraordinary circumstances. If Magnus Henderson had lived to pay off his debts the whole history of the landowning families of Unst and Bressay might have been very different; and we might have known less about it had not Thomas Mouat's and James Henderson's papers been kept under a good dry roof at Gardie. But it is idle to interfere with the cumulative coincidences of history.

Chapter 4:2. The Physical Growth of the Garth Estate

In 1767 William Mouat's old cousin and former guardian Thomas Mouat died at Garth in Delting, leaving him extensive lands in Delting, Yell, Unst and elsewhere. This was to be the last major addition to his own personal landholdings, and was much larger than his earlier small inheritances from his father and an uncle of lands in Yell and Northmavine and of booths and beach rights at Uyeasound and Burravoe. William Mouat had also purchased a considerable if scattered estate in North Unst, during the 1740's and 1750's.

A rental from 1764 shows that although William Mouat by then owned at least some land in most Unst townships, his holdings were in remarkably small parcels. In only five rooms (of the 122 rentalled for Unst) did he own more than 10 merks of land - in Skaw, Valsgarth, Skea, Snarravoe and Wadbister. Two thirds of his holdings were smaller than 5 merks and four fifths smaller than 10 merks. Over a third were really small patches of 3 merks or less. (No. SB 10) (Map No. 6) (See notes on the merk in Chapter 5 below).

The small size and scattered nature of these holdings suggest that they were acquired from their udaller proprietors on a piecemeal scale, (NB see reference in No. 2,404, para.2); there is no evidence of the purchase of large blocks of land from other substantial landowners. The result was that in only a very few Unst townships was Mouat the majority proprietor in 1764, and conflicts with other owners were frequent over possession of township land and divisions of common land.* (~~See MAPS of Buness and Garth Holdings, 1772-1777).~~

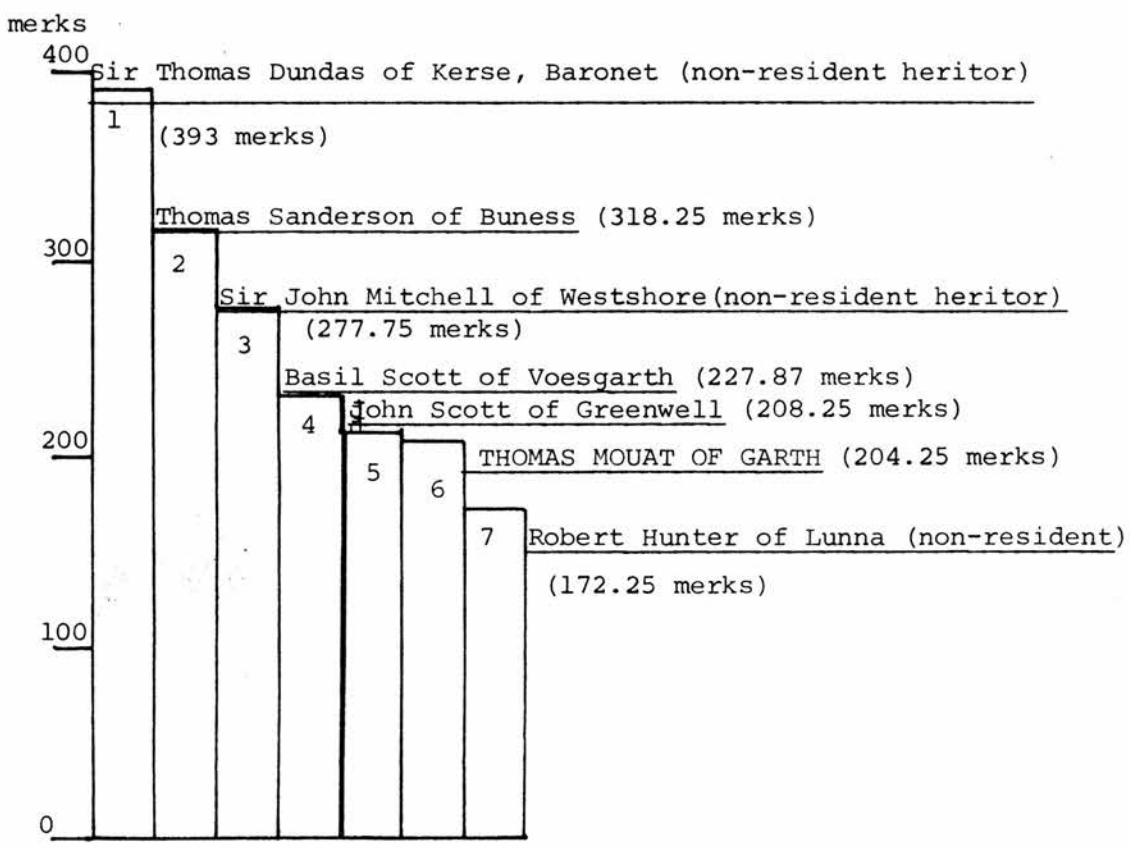
~~FOOTNOTE~~: * The mid-1760's saw a prolonged conflict with other heritors over the assessment of their lands for the repair of the Baliasta kirk, which in 1764 was found by a kirk visitation to be in "a tottering condition" and in urgent need of repair, following the collapse of the "common loft". (No.429). Another example is from 1762 when Mouat had an altercation with Andrew Scott of Greenwell because he attempted to have the teinds of Unst valued and sold to prevent payments in kind and remove an obstacle to enclosures from the hoga. (No.2.1.1762). Scott was teind factor and as Mouat was not yet powerful enough to enforce his wishes the project fell through.

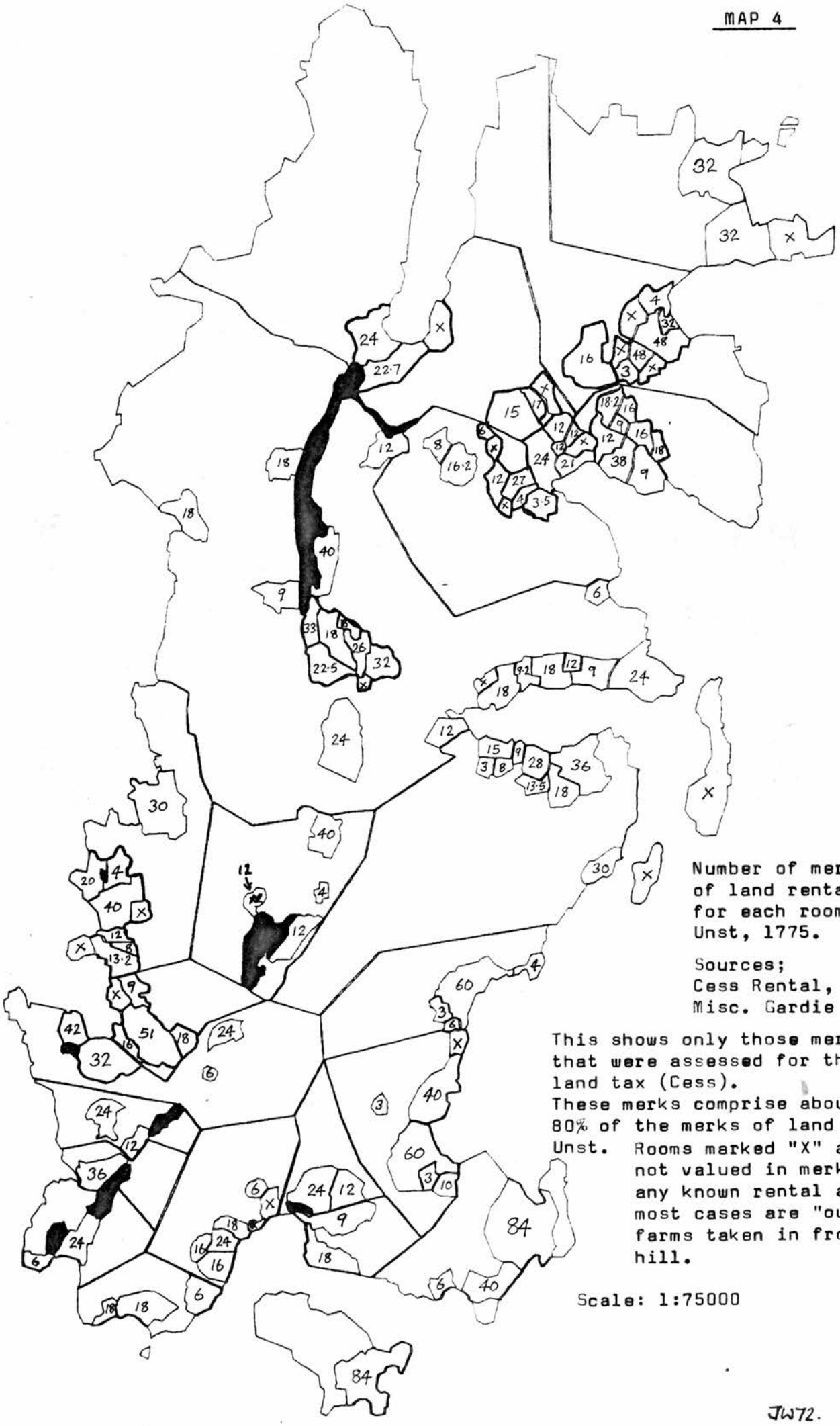
graph (b)

THE MAJOR LANDHOLDERS OF UNST IN 1775

from Thomas Mouat's "Vade Mecum" notebook
Gardie Mss

in merks of land owned by each proprietor





Number of merks of land rentalled for each room in Unst, 1775.

Sources;
Cess Rental, 1775
Misc. Gardie Rentals.

This shows only those merks that were assessed for the land tax (Cess). These merks comprise about 80% of the merks of land in Unst. Rooms marked "X" are not valued in merks in any known rental and in most cases are "outset" farms taken in from the hill.

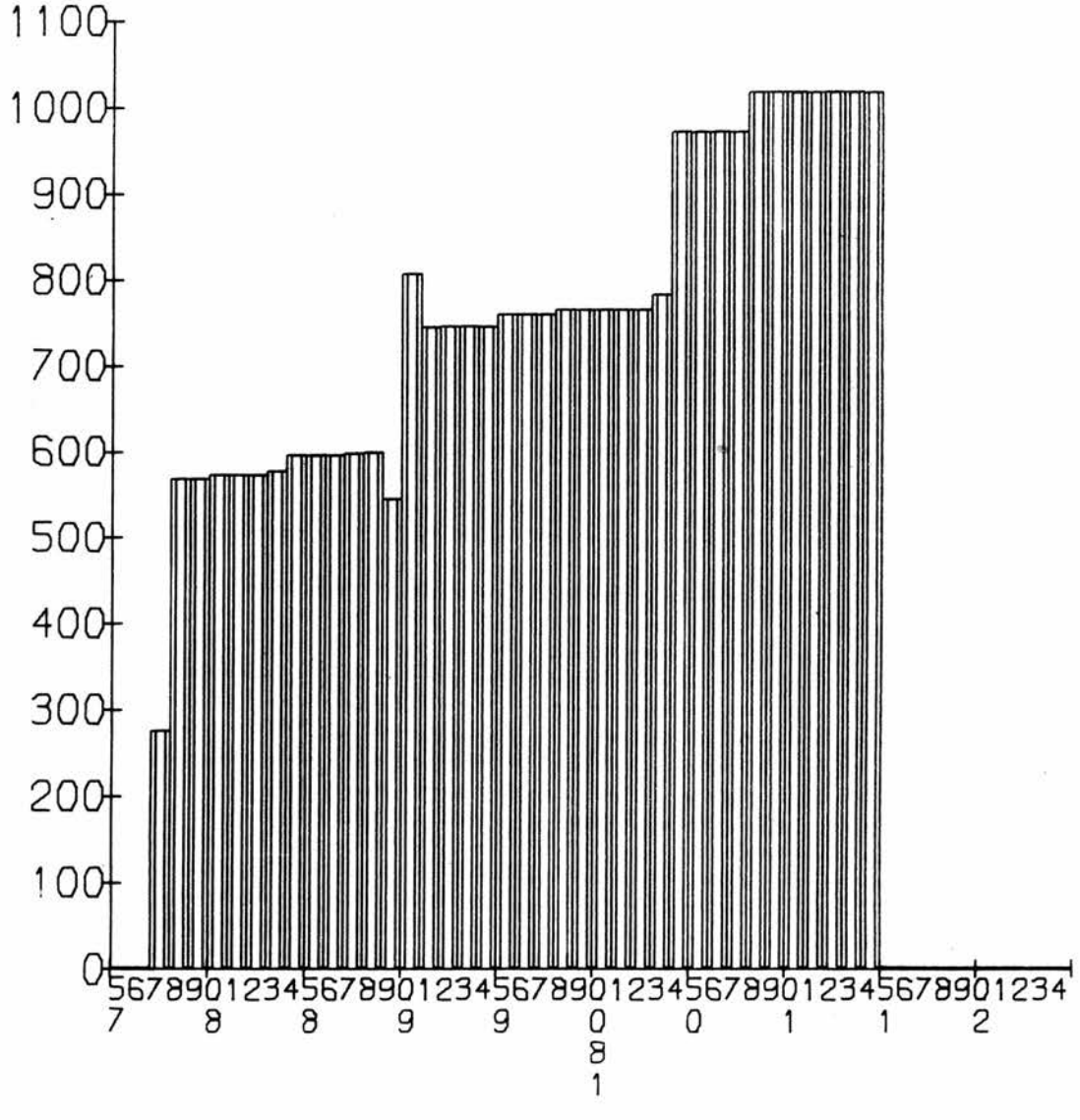
Scale: 1:75000

JW72.

graph 1

Total number of merks controlled by Thomas Mouat in each year, as recorded in the surviving produce rentals and stated rentals.

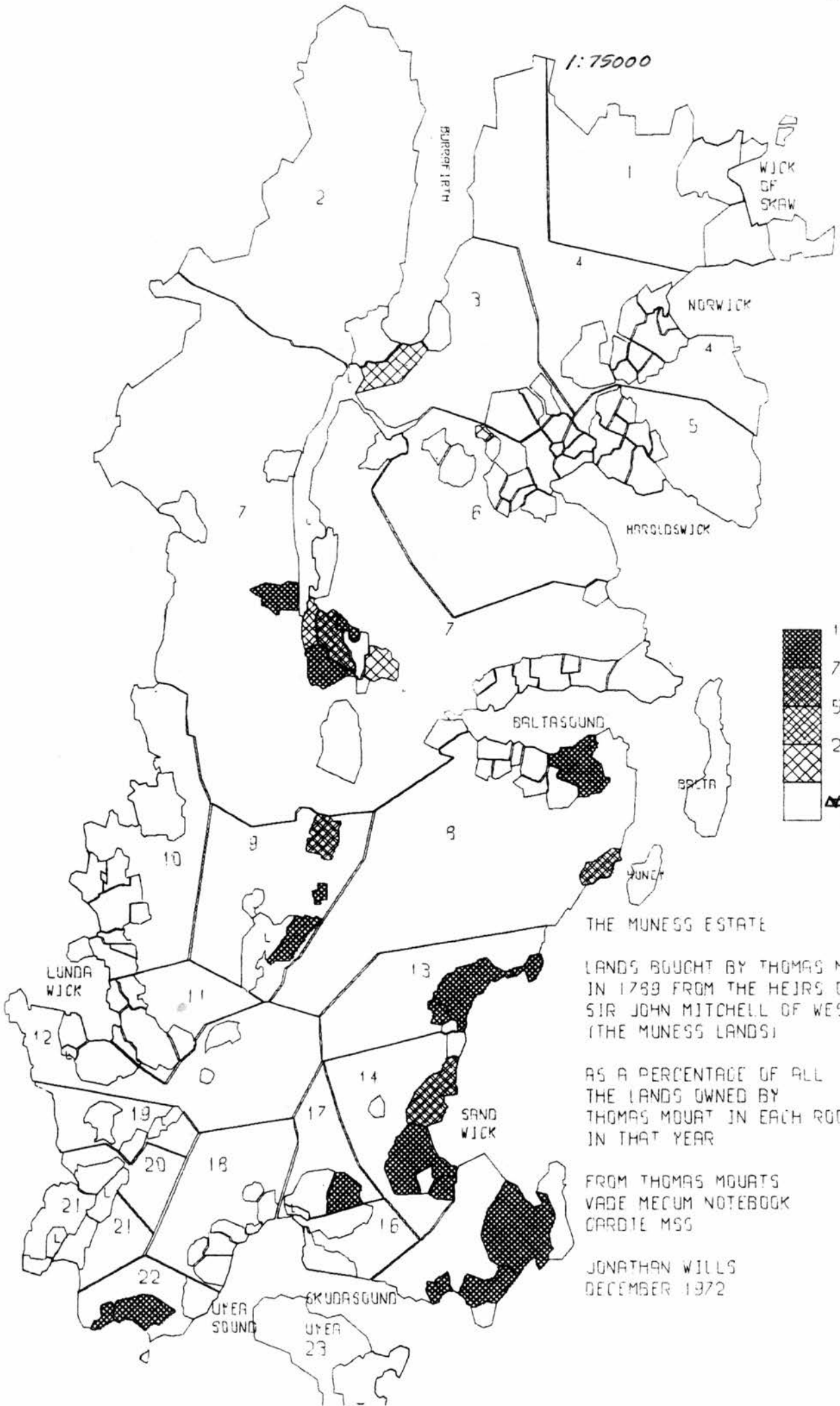
NB Before 1791 this total includes both lands owned by Thomas Mouat (whether rented to tenants or tacksmen), and those held in tack by him from other owners or tacksmen. After 1791 the latter category are very insignificant, but in 1778 such rented lands comprised about half of the total amount of land controlled by Thomas Mouat.



SYMBOLS
L - FRESH WATER LOCHS

MAP 5

1:75000



THE MUNESS ESTATE

LANDS BOUGHT BY THOMAS MOUAT IN 1789 FROM THE HEIRS OF SIR JOHN MITCHELL OF WESTSHORE (THE MUNESS LANDS)

AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL THE LANDS OWNED BY THOMAS MOUAT IN EACH ROOM IN THAT YEAR

FROM THOMAS MOUATS VADE MECUM NOTEBOOK CARDIE MSS

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

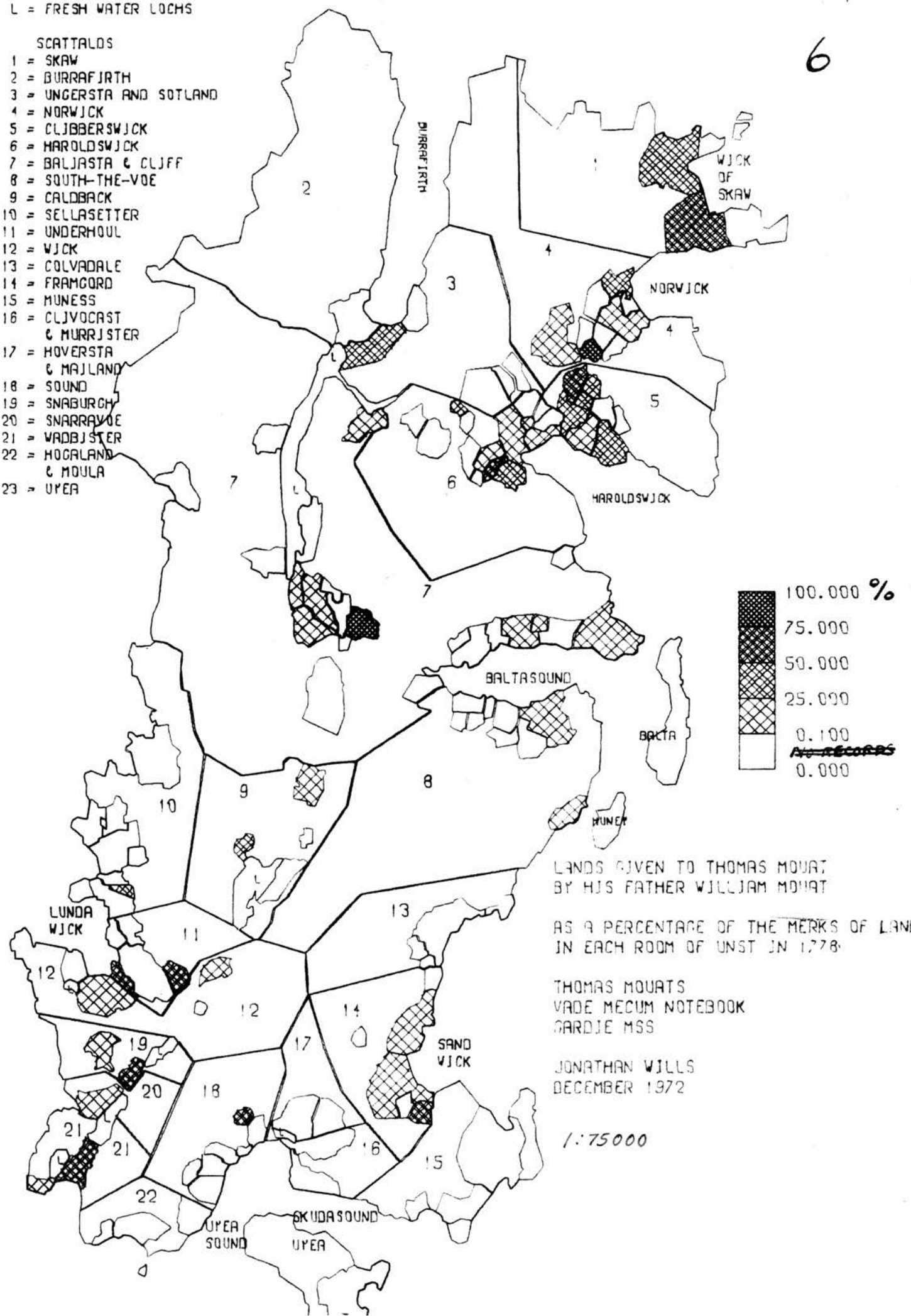
A

6

SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS

SCATTALDS
1 = SKAW
2 = BURRAFIRTH
3 = UNGERSTA AND SOTLAND
4 = NORWICK
5 = CLIBBERSWICK
6 = HAROLDSWICK
7 = BALTASTA & CLIFF
8 = SOUTH-THE-VOE
9 = CALDBACK
10 = SELLASETTER
11 = UNDERHOUL
12 = WICK
13 = COLVADALE
14 = FRAMGORD
15 = MUNESS
16 = CLIVOCAST & MURRISTER
17 = HOVERSTA & MAILAND
18 = SOUND
19 = SNABURGH
20 = SNARRAVOE
21 = WADBISTER
22 = HOGALAND & MOULA
23 = UYEA



LANDS GIVEN TO THOMAS MOUAT BY HIS FATHER WILLIAM MOUAT

AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE MERKS OF LAND IN EACH ROOM OF UNST IN 1778

THOMAS MOUATS
VADE MECUM NOTEBOOK
CARDIE MSS

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

1:75000

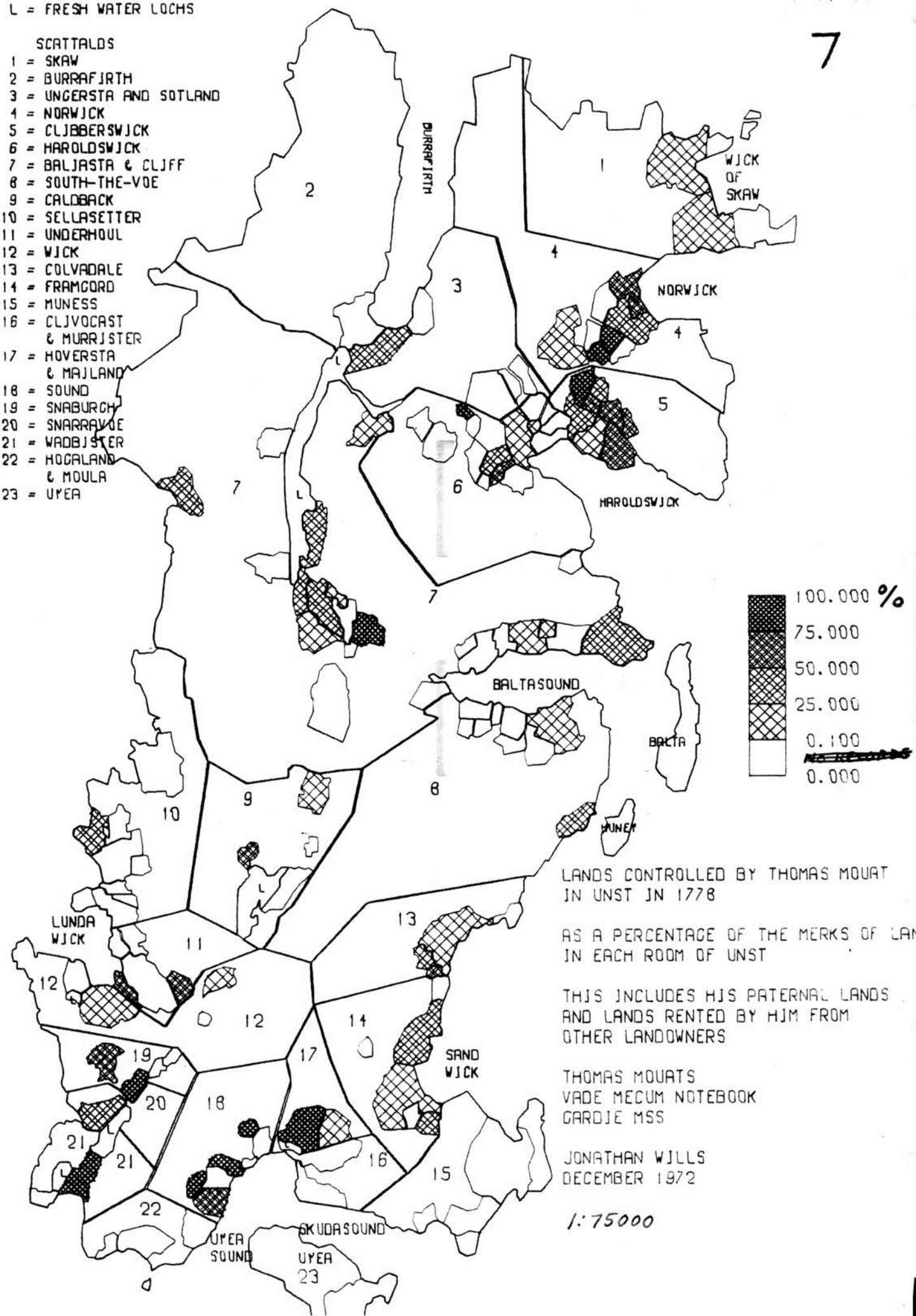
MAP

7

SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS

SCATTALDS
1 = SKAW
2 = BURRAFIRTH
3 = UNGERSTA AND SOTLAND
4 = NORWICK
5 = CLIBBERSWICK
6 = HAROLDSWICK
7 = BALIASTA & CLIFF
8 = SOUTH-THE-VOE
9 = CALDBACK
10 = SELLASETTER
11 = UNDERHOUL
12 = WICK
13 = COLVADALE
14 = FRAMGORD
15 = MUNESS
16 = CLIVOCAST & MURRISTER
17 = HOVERSTA & MAILAND
18 = SOUND
19 = SNABURGH
20 = SNARRAVOE
21 = WADBISTER
22 = HOGALAND & MOULA
23 = UYEA



LANDS CONTROLLED BY THOMAS MOUAT IN UNST IN 1778

AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE MERKS OF LAN IN EACH ROOM OF UNST

THIS INCLUDES HIS PATERNAL LANDS AND LANDS RENTED BY HIM FROM OTHER LANDOWNERS

THOMAS MOUATS
VADE MECUM NOTEBOOK
CARDIE MSS

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

1:75000

8

SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS

SCATTALDS
1 = SKAW
2 = BURRAFIRTH
3 = UNDERSTA AND SOTLAND
4 = NORWICK
5 = CLIBBERSWICK
6 = HAROLDSWICK
7 = BALIASTA & CLIFF
8 = SOUTH-THE-VOE
9 = CALDBACK
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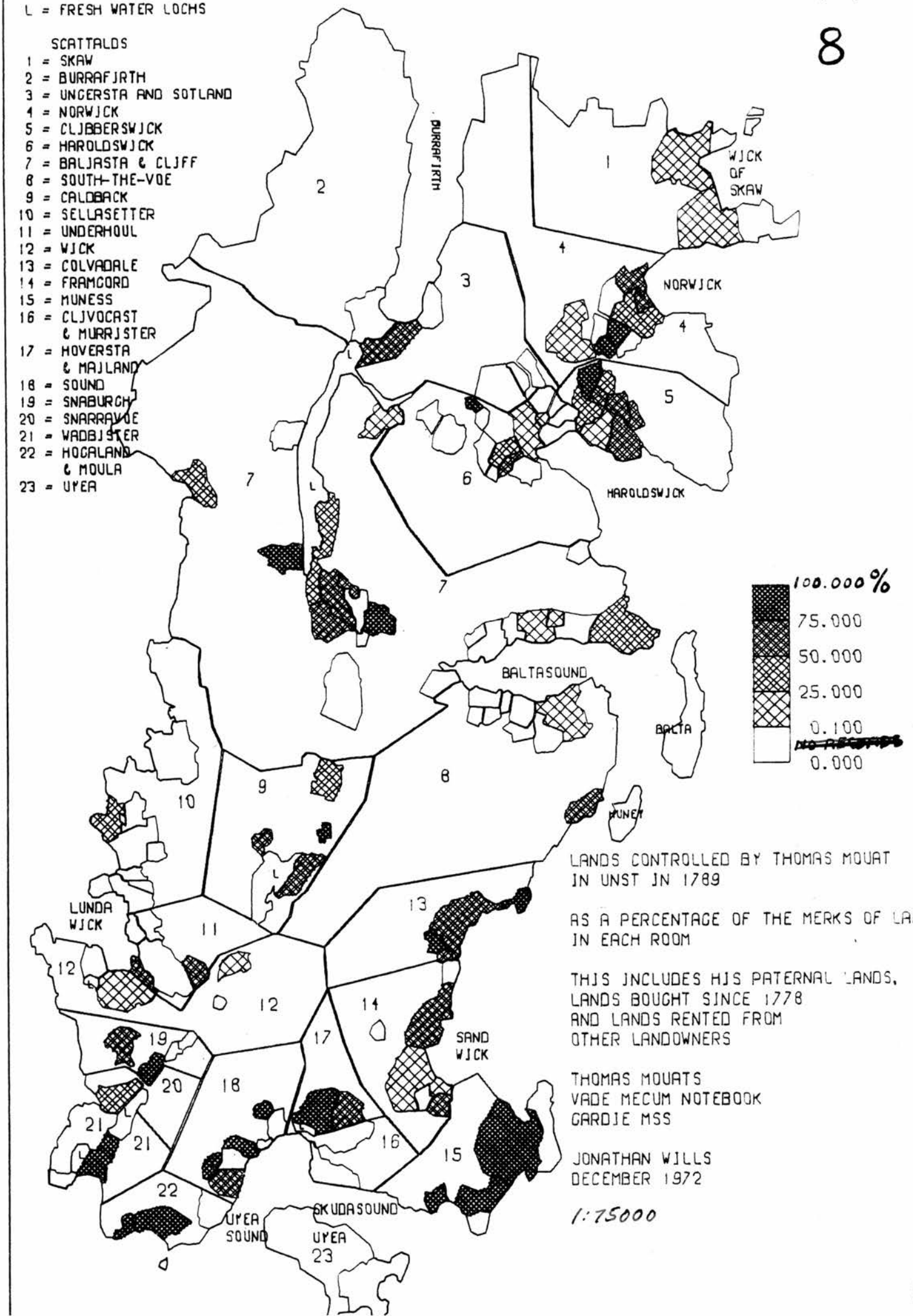
19 = SNABURGH
20 = SNARRAVOE
21 = WADBISTER
22 = HOGALAND & MOULA
23 = UYEA



LANDS CONTROLLED BY THOMAS MOUAT IN UNST IN 1789

AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE MERKS OF LAND IN EACH ROOM

THIS INCLUDES HIS PATERNAL LANDS, LANDS BOUGHT SINCE 1778 AND LANDS RENTED FROM OTHER LANDOWNERS

THOMAS MOUATS
VADE MECUM NOTEBOOK
CARDIE MSS

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

1:75000

MAF 9

SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS

SCATTALDS
1 = SKAW
2 = BURRAFIRTH
3 = UNDERSTA AND SOTLAND
4 = NORWICK
5 = CLIBBERSWICK
6 = HAROLDSWICK
7 = BALJASTA & CLIFF
8 = SOUTH-THE-VOE
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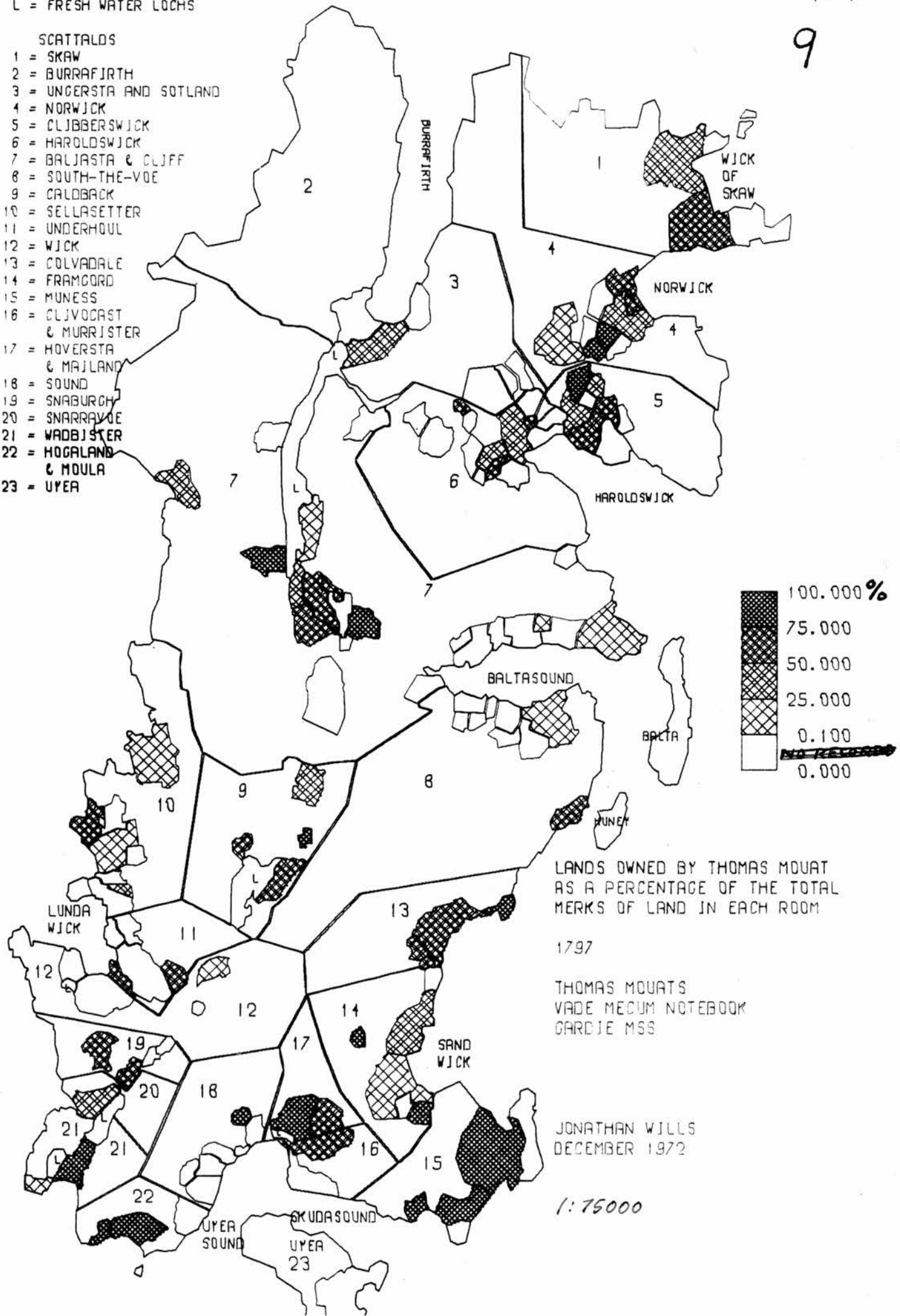
23 = UYEA



LANDS OWNED BY THOMAS MOUAT AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL MERKS OF LAND IN EACH ROOM

1797

THOMAS MOUATS VADE MECUM NOTEBOOK CARDIE MSS

JONATHAN WILLS DECEMBER 1972

1:75000

MAP 10

SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS

SCATTALDS
1 = SKAW
2 = BURRAFIRTH
3 = UNGERSTA AND SOTLAND
4 = NORWICK
5 = CLIBBERSWICK
6 = HAROLDSWICK
7 = BALIASTA & CLIFF
8 = SOUTH-THE-VOE
9 = CALDBACK
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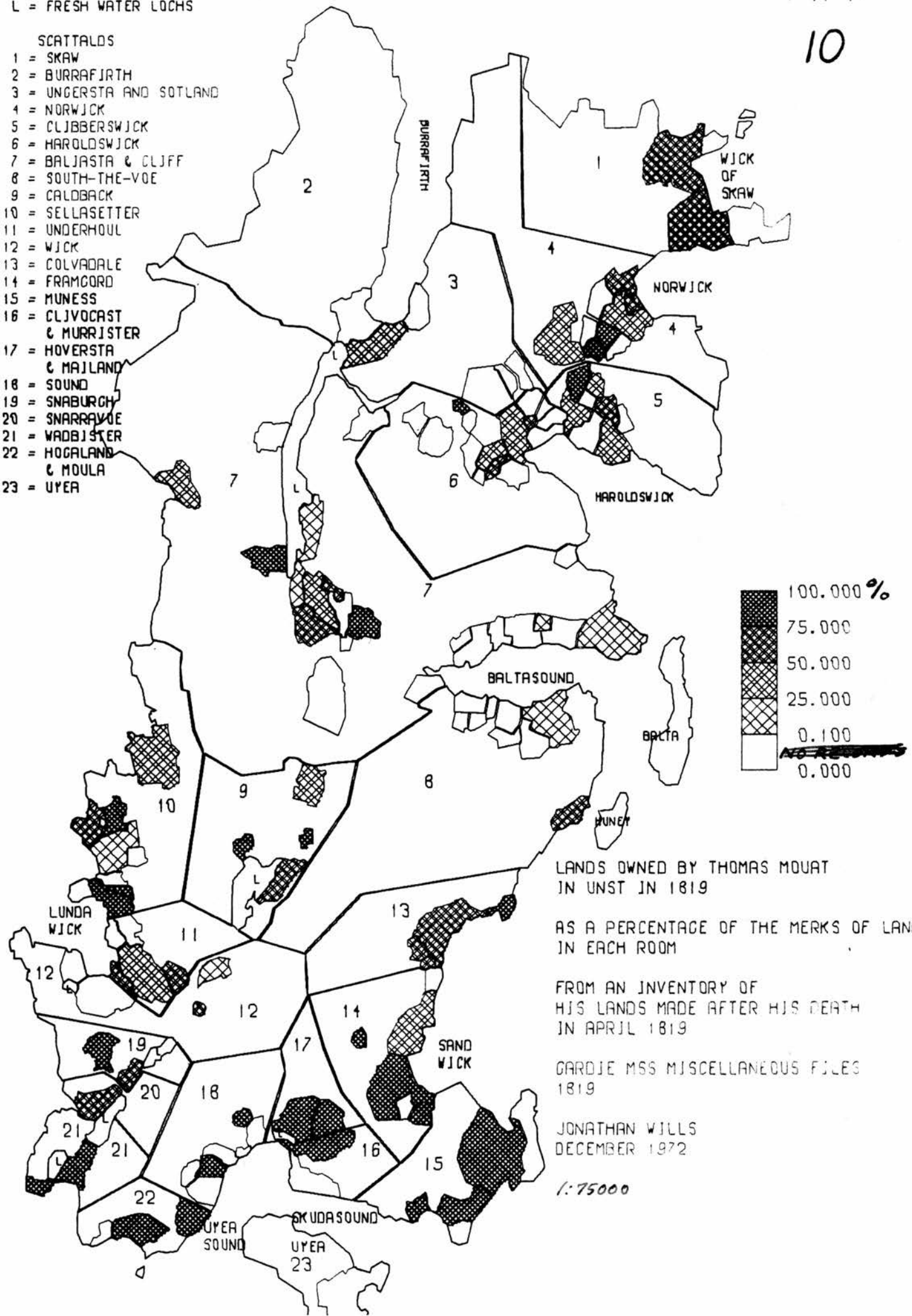


LANDS OWNED BY THOMAS MOUAT IN UNST IN 1819

AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE MERKS OF LAND IN EACH ROOM

FROM AN INVENTORY OF HIS LANDS MADE AFTER HIS DEATH IN APRIL 1819

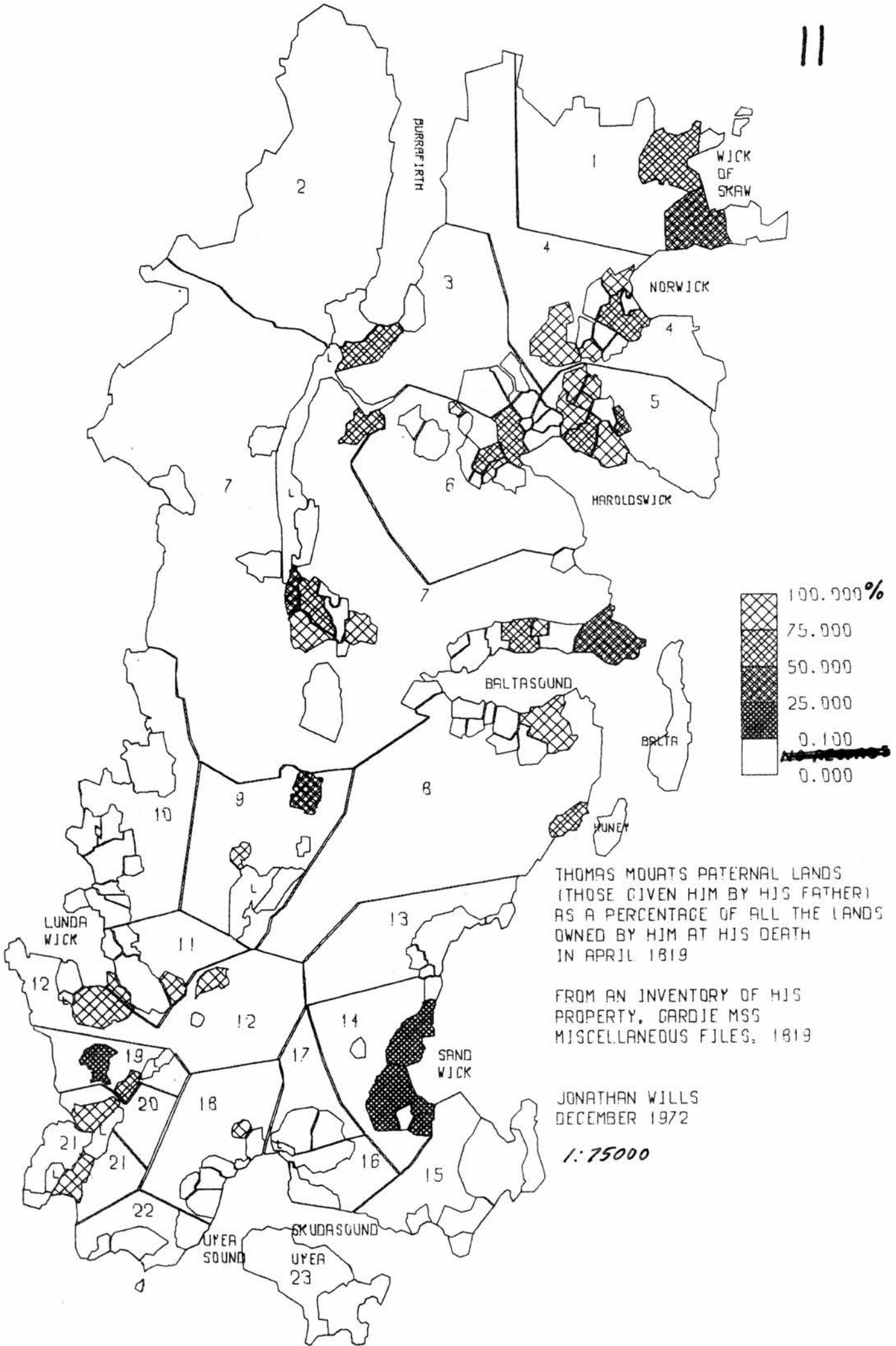
CARDIE MSS MISCELLANEOUS FILES 1819

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

1:75000

MAP

11



THOMAS MOUATS PATERNAL LANDS
(THOSE GIVEN HIM BY HIS FATHER)
AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL THE LANDS
OWNED BY HIM AT HIS DEATH
IN APRIL 1819

FROM AN INVENTORY OF HIS
PROPERTY, CARDIE MSS
MISCELLANEOUS FILES, 1819

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

1:75000

In addition to the land he owned in Unst and elsewhere, William Mouat acted as tacksman for parts of Gardie's Unst estate; not a secure position, for in his attempts to clear his debts Gardie was constantly "wadsetting" (mortgaging) and selling land irrespective of who held it in tack from him. A tack from Gardie's relations was no better; in 1765 Gardie's aunt Katherine Mitchell, widow of William Henderson, baillie of Bressay, announced that she was selling all her lands, including those for which William Mouat was tacksman, and hinted that it would be nice if, like Andrew Scott of Greenwell, Mouat would give up his tack of her lands to free them for a more advantageous sale. (No. 443). William's reply is not recorded, but one can imagine any purchaser hesitating before taking on such a litigious sitting tacksman.

A similar situation arose in 1768, when Robert Barclay of Almeriecloss was pursuing Mouat's father-in-law Andrew Bruce of Urie, for debt. Mouat offered to pay off the debt to save the "poor old gentleman" from ruin; Barclay was aware that Mouat's main interest was to establish himself as a creditor of the Urie estate in order to have a title to it on the old man's death, and therefore held out for more money than Mouat was initially prepared to give. (Nos. 18.7.1768 & 508). Keeping lesser lairds in debt, particularly if they happened to be relations, was a form of insurance policy to guarantee the future growth of the estate. Meanwhile the piecemeal acquisition of scattered small farms continued; an example is Unst in 1767, when Magnus Robertson and Robert Magnusson of Caldback (probably a patronymic father and son) renounced all rights to their small piece of arable, meadow and grass ground there in favour of William Mouat. This would have been enough to deter most potential rivals for the land, and it might be years before the deal was registered in a sasine. ~~It seems~~

It seems probable that many small parcels of land changed hands in such a way without any formal deed of sale being drawn up. The land would merely have gone to clear the udaller's debts at the Uyeasound shop, and all that was required to "grip" the farm was a renunciation or an unredeemed wadset. This sort of informal transfer should be borne in mind when using sasine records alone to establish chronologies of land ownership.

The first mention in the Gardie papers of Thomas Mouat's active part in estate management comes from 1774, in a rental of lands in Unst belonging to his brother-in-law Robert Hunter which he held in tack. By 1775 Thomas Mouat's estate was one of the six largest in Unst, as graph (b) shows. Below these lairds with 150 to 400 merks was a class of smaller proprietors, the largest of whom, John Ogilvie of Stove, had only 50 merks in all. (1778 Unst Rental - Vade Mecum).

Among the less substantial Unst landowners was James Henderson of Gardie, whose lands were not only let in tack to the Mouats but also wadset to Sanderson of Buness. Thomas Mouat's attempt to get outright possession of these lands may serve as an indication of the confused state of land tenure at the time. His plan in 1778 was for Gardie to borrow money from him (Mouat) to redeem these lands, and then to make them over to his (Gardie's) neice, Mrs. Mouat, without his having the obligation to repay the loan. Thomas Mouat would thus have acquired the lands on the cheap, but when he attempted to raise the £1,000 required he was rebuffed. Robert Strong and James Black, merchants and bankers in Edinburgh, declared themselves well-satisfied with their arrangement with Mr. Sanderson. The affair was complicated by a bond for 8,000 merks scots (£444 sterling) with which the lands were encumbered. Mouat had to content himself with taking a new tack of the lands, which he did not manage to buy outright until 1789. And this was a relatively

uncomplicated transaction by the standards of the time!

Despite this setback, the tacks of Gardie's and of Hunter's lands gave Thomas Mouat control over more land in Unst than any other heritor but Dundas, and it ensured that he and not Sanderson of Buness would eventually emerge as the majority landowner. It was not aggregate size alone that made an estate powerful; while Mouat's lands were no more dispersed than those of other large heritors, he suffered from the disadvantage that the individual parcels of land were on average of smaller value than those of the other "Big Five". The mean size of holding unit on his lands in 1778 was only 4½ merks, compared with 12 merks on Dundas's lands.

Like his brother, Thomas Mouat was convinced of the desirability of having "large lumps of land ... near to the proprietor's residence, so obviously preferable to mixed distant property." (No.1,559) Unlike his father he was able to increase his property by a few acquisitions of extensive estates, while not neglecting the opportunity of purchasing smaller parcels when offered. There were, in any case, far fewer udallers than in his father's heyday. (cf. 1778 and 1803 rentals). The ragged edges of the estate were usually cleared up by exchanges of land (excambions) with other major heritors, to produce more compact farms; in a few cases quite large amounts of land were involved in these exchanges, and even more land in some that were planned but did not take place; most involved only a few merks of land.

The importance of tacks in creating sizeable holdings can be seen from the accompanying maps; three quarters of the holdings rented by Thomas Mouat were in rooms where he already owned some land. Most of the holdings rented in rooms where he did not own any land were in the south parish of Unst, around Uyeasound and within easy reach of Belmont. Not that distance between Belmont and the farms was all that significant; Unst was easier to traverse than some other islands because

of the comparative absence of peat. In 1817 he boasted to a visitor "The distance between [Baltasound and Belmont] ... is six miles of very practicable natural road which I have ridden in forty five minutes." (No.2,337)

In his Mss Statistical Account he commented that "The natural roads and paths being sufficient to answer all the purposes of inland communication, the statute labour is neither exacted in kind nor commuted." (Mss.OSA.f24)

Most of the lands he inherited from his father were in the North parish, 9 or 10 miles from Belmont; there both the farms and the rooms to which they belonged tended to be smaller than in the south parish; there were also more surviving udallers, and land tenure was correspondingly more confused and diverse, with a multiplicity of farms lying pro indiviso. (See chapter on Norwick below)

When the heirs of Sir John Mitchell decided to sell their lands in 1789, Thomas instructed his brother to attend the auction in Lerwick and to bid as high as necessary (up to £1,750 Sterling) to prevent "ineligible persons" from buying up land so close to his seat or residence; he had already been persuading some of the heirs and creditors to sell him their shares in the estate, but the prices at the auction went remarkably high; the sale was seen by contemporaries as a revolution in the traditional selling prices of land in Shetland. Mouat had to pay £1,592 for 285.75 merks of the Muness estate.

The Muness estate reflected the general distribution of holding sizes in Unst, being composed of large parcels of land concentrated in the mid and south parishes of Unst, with only a few scattered and small farms in the North parish. As the map shows, Thomas Mouat concentrated his purchases in the valuable Baliasta area, and in the south-east of the island where the acquisition of all the

rooms in Muness Scattald gave him a valuable source of peat. The fishermen of Colvadale, Sandwick, Framgord, Muness and Ramnageo were a guaranteed source of future income.

Edmondston was to remark on this sale that;

"For a long time all the land in Zetland was not only rented, but sold, according to the rentals made from the penny-rates; [- explained in section on Tenants rents -] and it is not yet more than 20 years [i.e. 1789] since innovations on this mode of valuing them became general."

"There were many individuals, at that time, anxious to possess particular spots of ground which lay contiguous to their property; and thus several portions of Sir John's estate sold above their value, and the whole land was considered as high priced. Hence the purchasers were under the necessity of raising the rents, ~~(Map RDF)~~ and as the estate was large, and the lands lay in several different parishes, the practice of raising them soon became generally recognised, and an increase on the rents has since that time become progressive."

"The price of land in Zetland varies very much in the different parishes, and in different parts of the same parish, according to the fertility of the soil, the situation of the farm for pasture, fishing, or the sale of its produce, and the number or paucity of payments exigible from it. In 1600 Earl Patrick sold land at 30/- sterling per merk, which was 'full land's price at that time.' About 1765 land sold in Unst at £2 and £2.10.0d. per merk; and about 1770 £5 was deemed a fair price. In 1789 ... some of the land of Sir John Mitchell's estate sold at £30 per merk, but the average amount of the whole did not exceed £10 per merk. In 1800 several hundred merks were sold at a time in Unst and North Yell [part of the Buness estate] and the average price of each was not above £8.10.0d. ... upon the whole the average price of land in Zetland may be taken at £12 per merk, which would be considered at 20 or 25 years purchase [of the rents]". (1809 Vol.I, 157 - 159)
(My emphasis)

The acquisition of the Muness estate in Unst more or less intact, together with numerous other lands of Westshore's, established Thomas Mouat as the major Unst landowner; in the same year he consolidated his position by a complicated excambion with and purchase of Robert Hunter's Unst lands. It was with some satisfaction that he could write in 1790,

"landed property has undergone a great revolution within these two years, mostly in favour of the resident heritors."
(Mss OSA, 1791, 22-23)

Between 1789 and 1803 (when he concluded a deal over part of the Buness lands) he filled in the gaps in his estate with small purchases of land in those southern townships of Unst where his purchases up to 1790 had not given him a foothold. After the Buness purchase (which involved mainly the dispersed and peripheral parts of that estate) until his death in 1819 he concentrated on filling in the gaps in the mid and north parishes of Unst. (Maps 6-11)

THE GILBERT HENDERSON AFFAIR

Six years before his coup over the Buness lands (the deal was concluded only hours before the auction was due to begin) Mouat narrowly avoided losing Bressay and Noss. These islands he expected to acquire on the death of James Henderson of Gardie, his wife's uncle who as early as 1778 had been exploring ways of preventing her succession, with a view to selling the estate to provide for his old age. In 1795 Gilbert Henderson of Bardister, a distant relation of Gardie's and the son of a Shetland merchant who had established himself as a trader and shipowner in Liverpool, visited Bressay for a shooting holiday. It was during this visit that he suggested that Gardie sell out to him, and early in 1796 he made specific proposals, expressing his wish to keep the estate "in the family" and to return to Shetland as a landowner and merchant. Gilbert Henderson's own family lands at Bardister in Northmavine were smaller and poorer than Bressay, and uncomfortably near the powerful Nicolsons of Lochend. On his way back to Liverpool he called on Gardie's lawyer in Edinburgh and ascertained that Gardie was free to sell.

Gardie was a very slow correspondent and it was not until April 1796 that he replied pointing out the difficulty of selling or mortgaging an estate with so many bonds, debts and encumbrances upon it, and that he did not wish to antagonise Thomas Mouat (who had lent him money). He played Gilbert along with a story that he had had an offer from a third party, but there is no other evidence of this in the Gardie papers.

In October 1796, when Gilbert Henderson was arranging for a Crown Charter to be taken out on Gardie's lands to ensure the legality of the sale, there was one embarrassing day when he met Thomas Mouat

in Edinburgh, but Mouat was still in the dark and Gilbert reported that "nothing passed relative to your [i.e. Gardie's] affairs." To speed things up Gilbert also arranged for a cargo of wood to be delivered from the Baltic for the roof of Gardie House, which had never been properly completed ever since 1724. He became more pressing in 1797 as his Liverpool business was in serious trouble during the money crisis of that year, and an agreement was awaiting Gardie's signature when the old man died on 7 July 1797. The previous day the wood had finally been despatched north, followed on the 8th by a letter announcing the birth of a son and heir to Gilbert Henderson.

When Thomas Mouat returned from another visit to Edinburgh and discovered the awful truth he wrote a vituperative letter to the would-be purchaser accusing him of "conspiracy"; he refused to accept the cargo of wood or to pay the freight on it, and busied himself with installing his wife as successor to the man who had tried to "sell aside his natural heir." It was in this terse note that he made the revealing and rather hypocritical remark that;

"In this country [Shetland] the buying and selling of land estates has not yet become a business ... sales are commonly made of necessity ... "

(Nos. 1,338-1,344; 1,347; 1,349; 1,351; 1,357; 1,359; 1,361 etc)

Thomas Mouat's success as an expansionist landlord is evident from the maps of his Unst estates and from Graph ~~TLMX~~ 54 (remembering that he had also greatly increased his lands elsewhere in the north of Shetland and in Bressay). Whereas in 1777 he had owned lands in two fifths of the townships or rooms of Unst, in 1819 it was two-thirds. In 1777 he was the majority heritor (i.e. he owned more than 50% of the merks) in only about a tenth of the 122

Unst townships; by 1819 in almost half of them. In 1777 he was the majority landowner in only one of the 23 scattalds or districts, that of Wadbister surrounding his house at Belmont; by 1790 he had gained effective control in 6 more, and by 1803 in 10 of them. This gave him a free hand in the "country business" of regulating peat-cutting and the numbers of livestock on the hogas, etc.

Even in those scattalds where he was not the majority landowner he was often in control of several of the largest townships; thus in Baliasta he controlled, after 1803, five of the most valuable townships, but just less than half the scattald. After 1789 he was de facto the boss of the entire island. No new land could be reclaimed, nor dyke built, nor township or commonty divided, without his approval or at least his toleration. One of the lesser heritors was once bold enough to suggest that no-one could do anything without his permission.

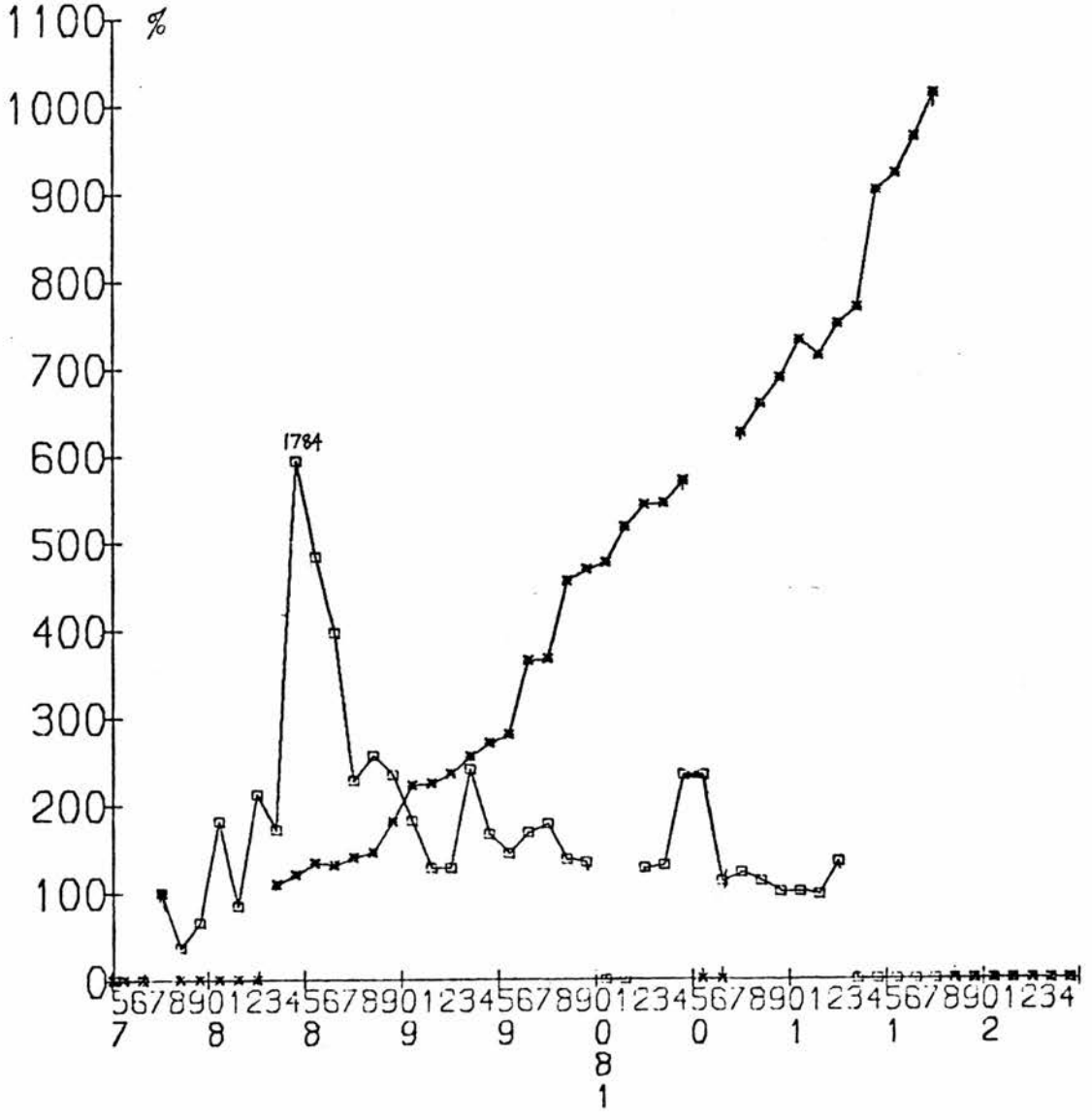
Chapter 4:3. The Financial Growth of Thomas Mouat's Estate

Graphs 2 - 18a.

graph 2

□ Thomas Mouat's "book" LIABILITIES as a percentage of his "book" ASSETS
1777 - 1799 & 1802 - 1812 1777 = 100% = 3.2%

* Thomas Mouat's ASSETS on his books at 31 December each year
1783 - 1804 & 1807 - 1818
Index year 1783 = 100% = £4,031 Stg

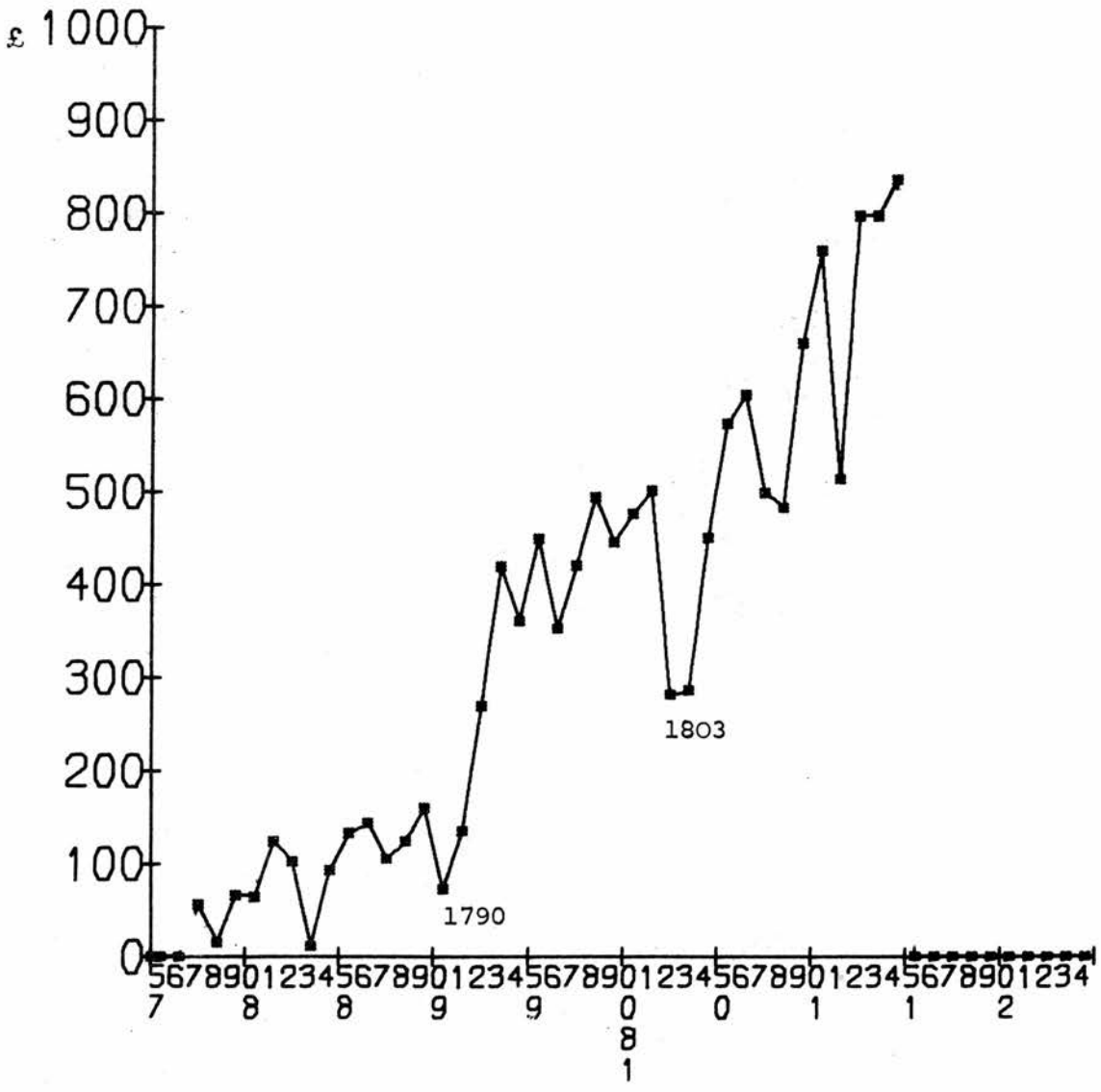


graph 3

"BALANCE GAINED"
by Thomas Mouat on his annual sales of all the
"Country Produce" of his estate

1777 - 1814

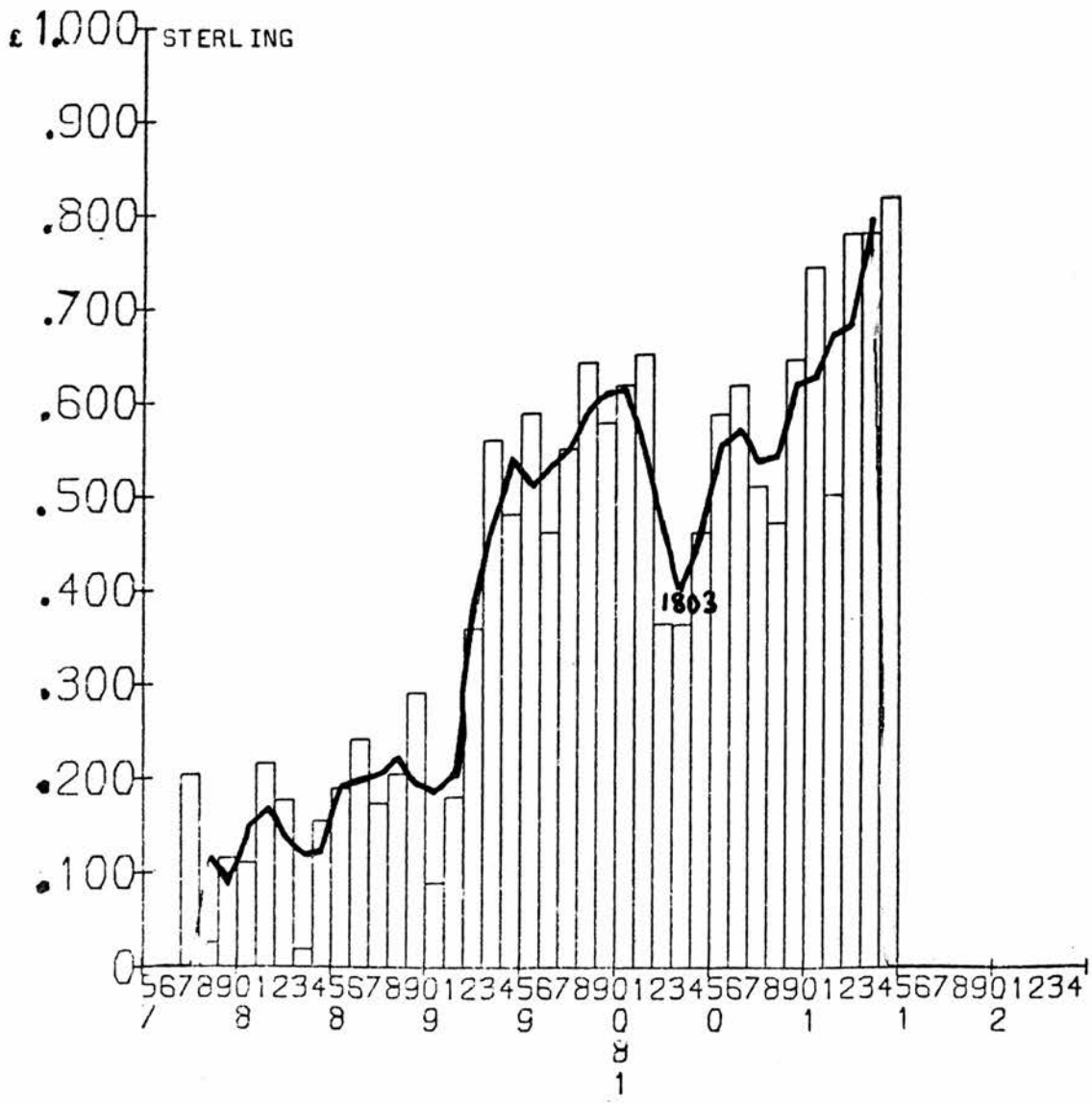
in pounds sterling



graph 4

Bar graph — Total "Balance Gained" (i.e. net profit) in £Sterling per merk, from sales of all produce of Thomas Mouat's estate

Line graph — The above as a 3 year running mean

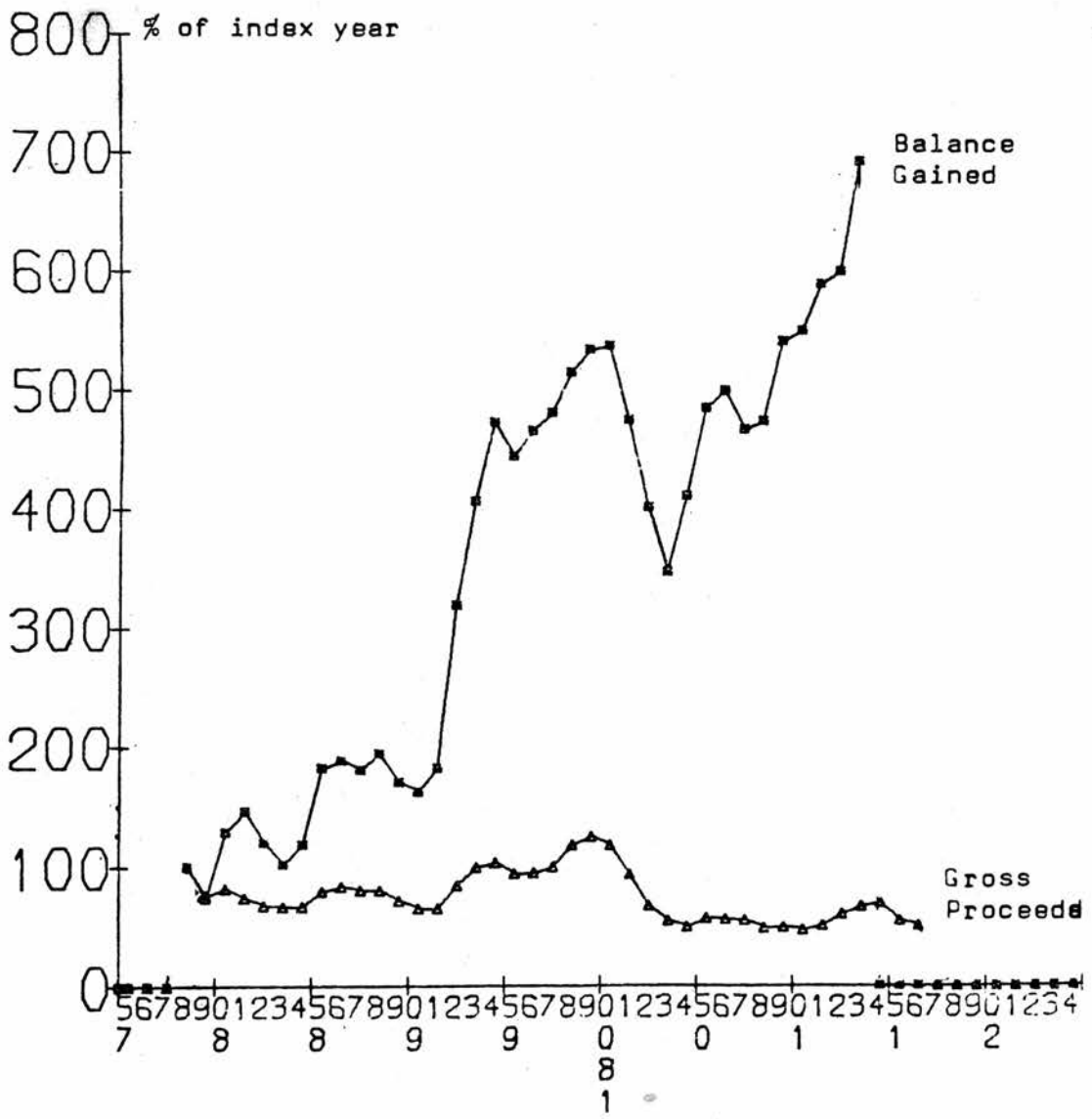


graph 5

* Value of "Balance Gained" (i.e. net profit) from sale of all produce of Thomas Mouat's estate

△ Value of Gross Proceeds from sale of all estate products

Index year for both = 1778 = 100
Both are expressed as 3 year running means
Both refer to value per merk of Thomas Mouat's estate



Thomas Mouat's annual net cash income

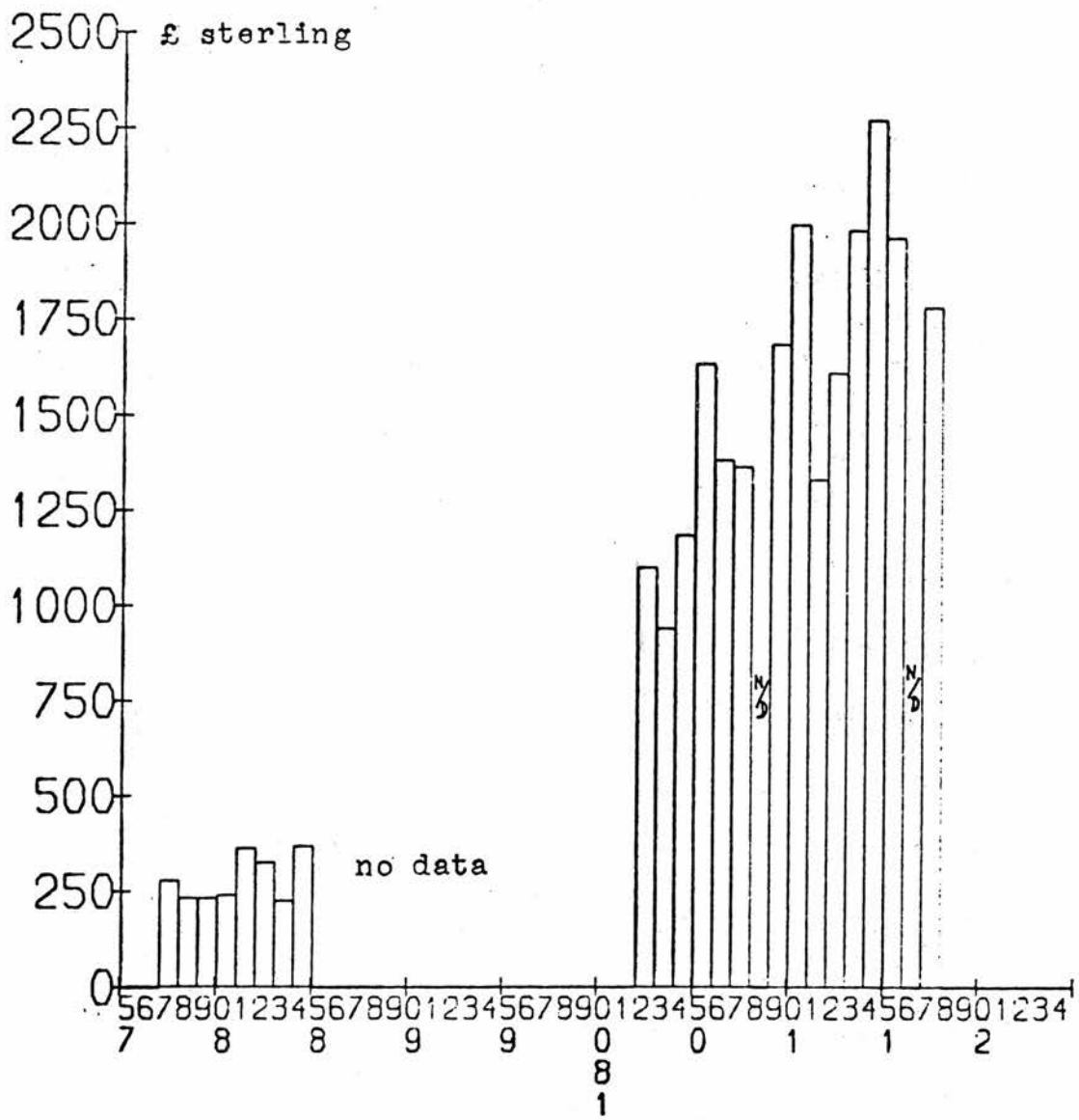
1777 - 1784, & 1802 - 1817

No data for 1785 - 1801

Source

Ledgers A & E

Gardie Mss

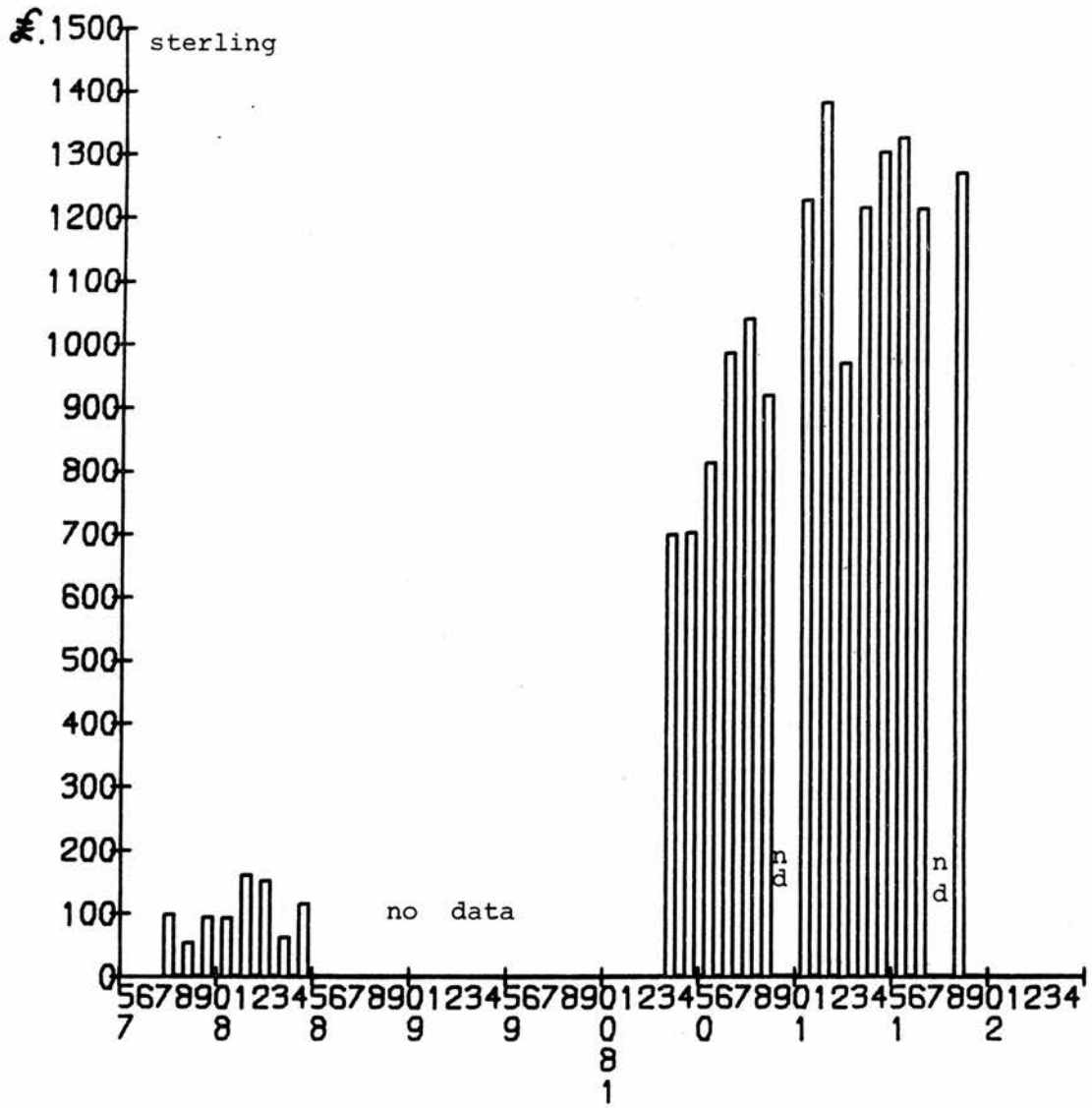


graph 7

"LAND INCOME"

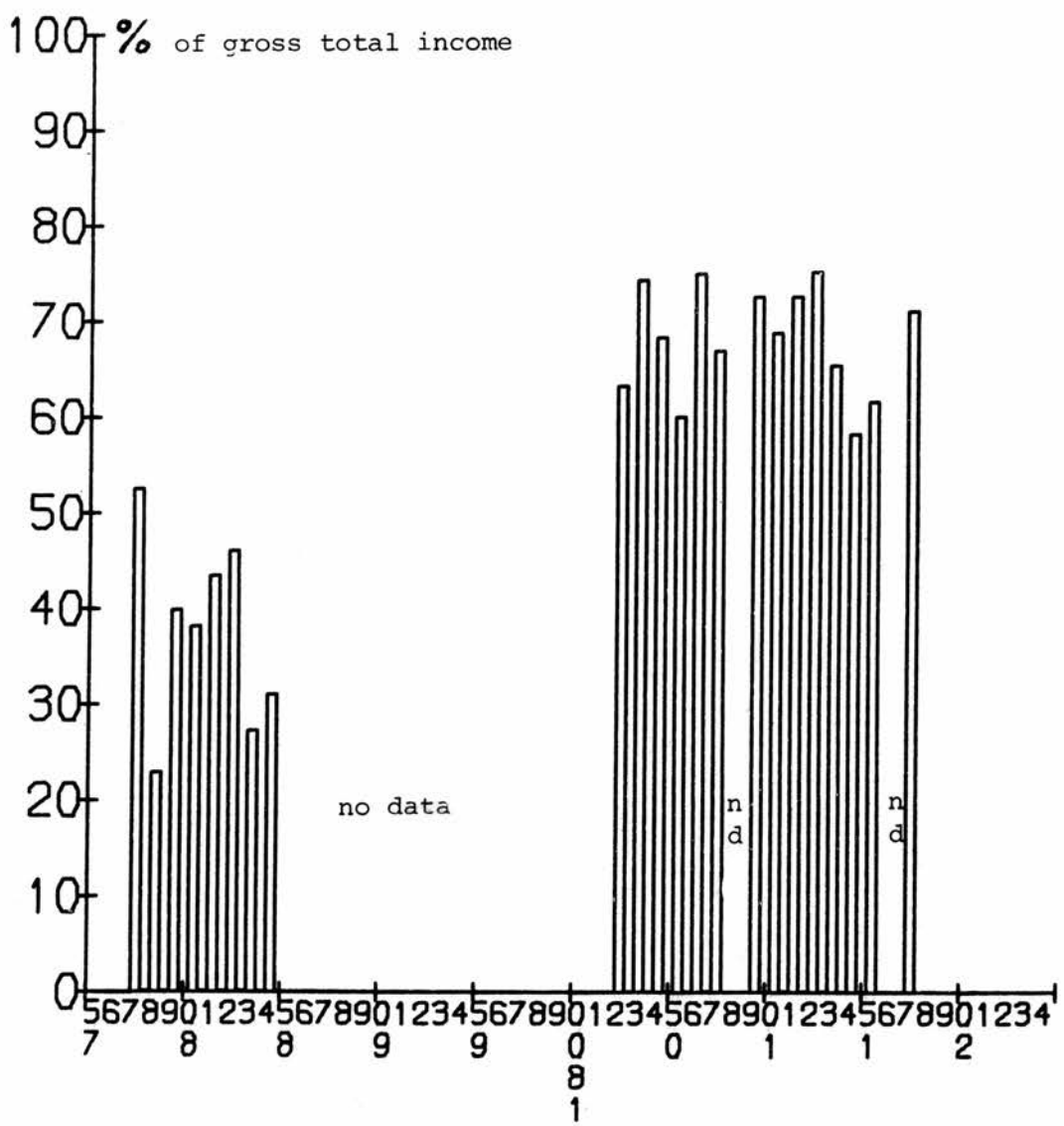
Thomas Mouat's GROSS INCOME from tack duties, rents, kelp and fishing profits

in pounds sterling



graph 8

Thomas Mouat's LAND INCOME
(as in graph 7)
as a percentage of his total gross income

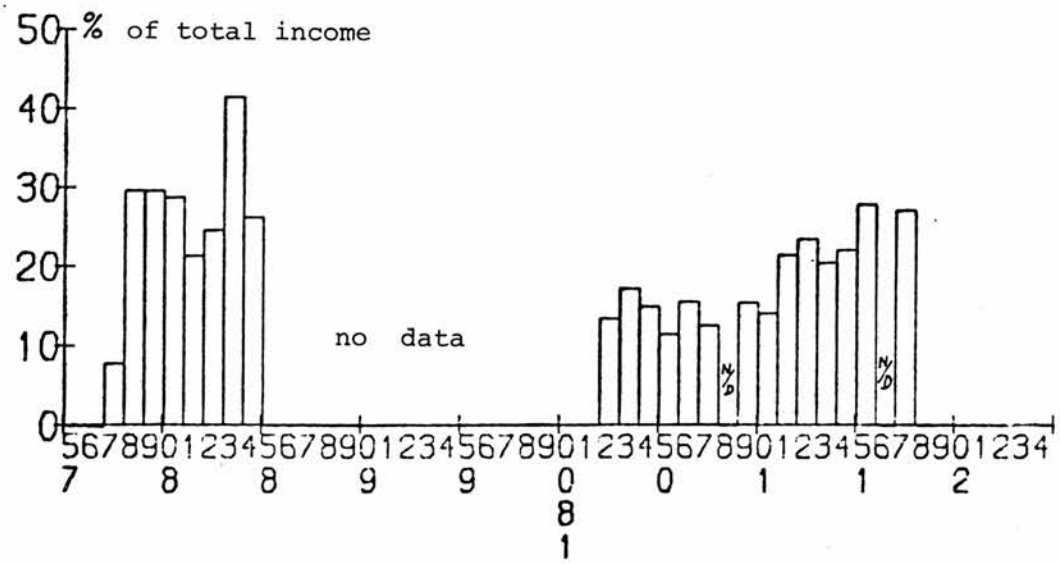


graph 9

Thomas Mouat's income from interest and dividends on stocks, shares and other investments, as a percentage of his total income

1777 - 1784 & 1802 - 1817

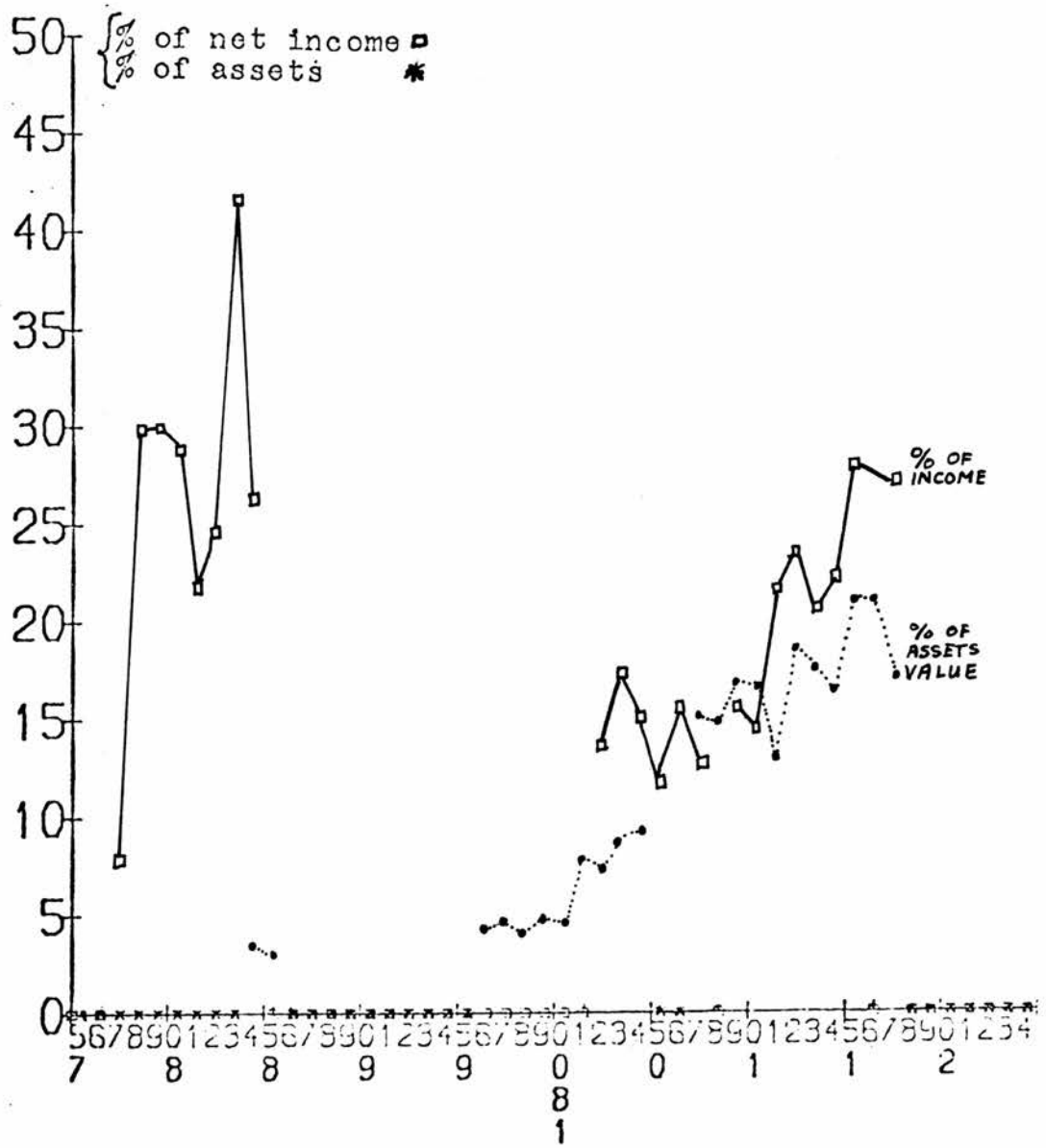
No data available for 1785 - 1801



graph 10

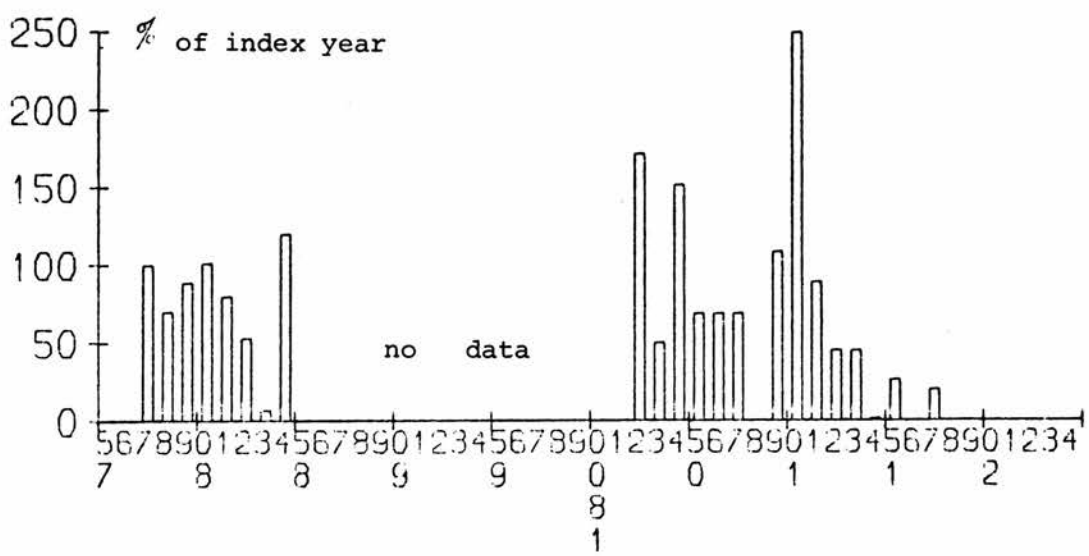
* VALUE of Thomas Mouat's SHARE & DIVIDEND INVESTMENTS as a percentage of the total value of his assets
1784-5, 1796-1804, 1807-1817
(no data for other years)

□ Thomas Mouat's INCOME from INTEREST and DIVIDENDS of Stocks, Shares and other investments, as a percentage of his total net income
1777 - 1784, 1802 - 1817
(no data for other years)



graph 11

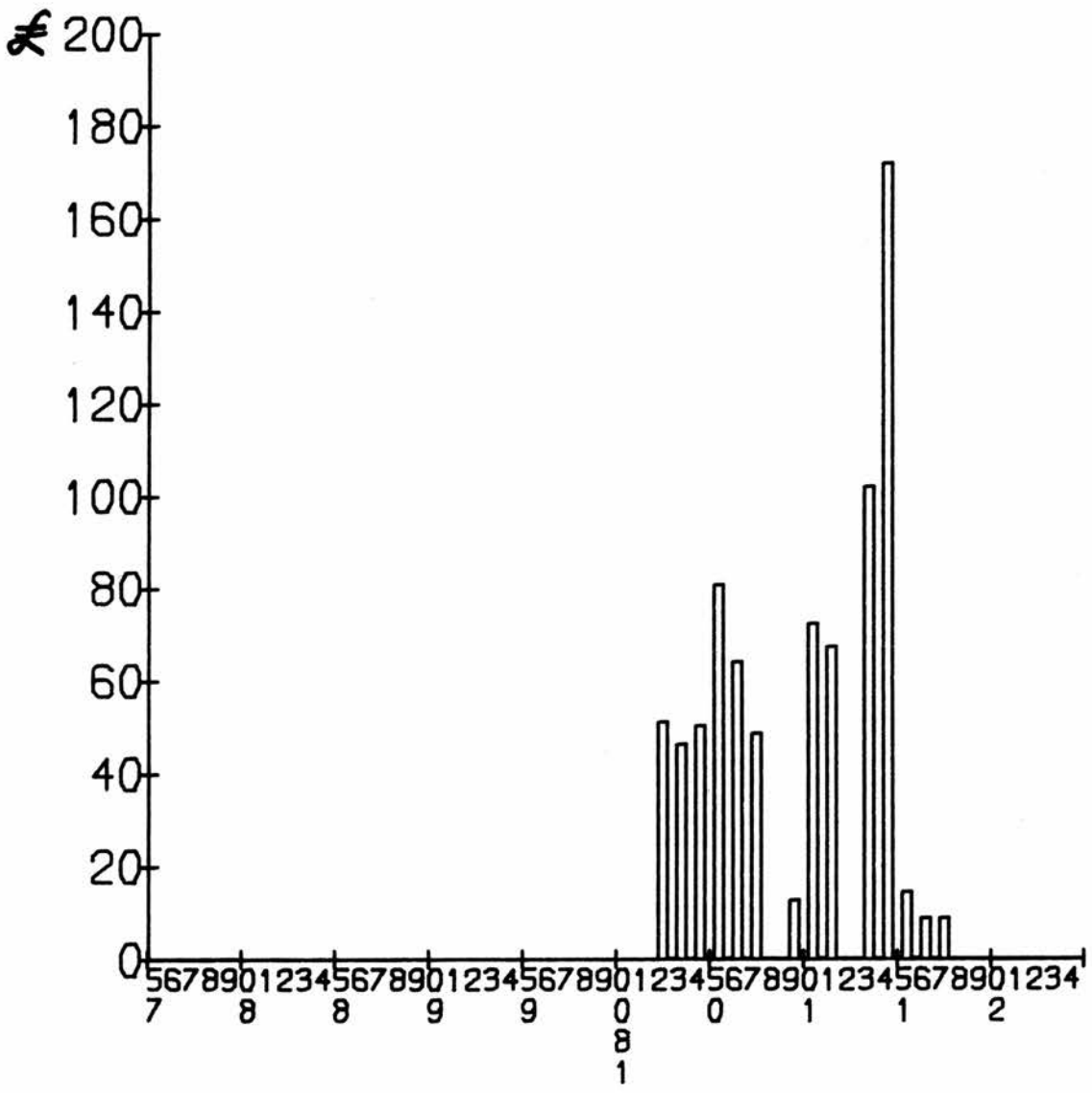
Profits made by Thomas Mouat on
goods sold or given on credit
at his shop in Uyeasound
Index year 1778 = 100%
source; Ledgers A & E, Gardie Mss



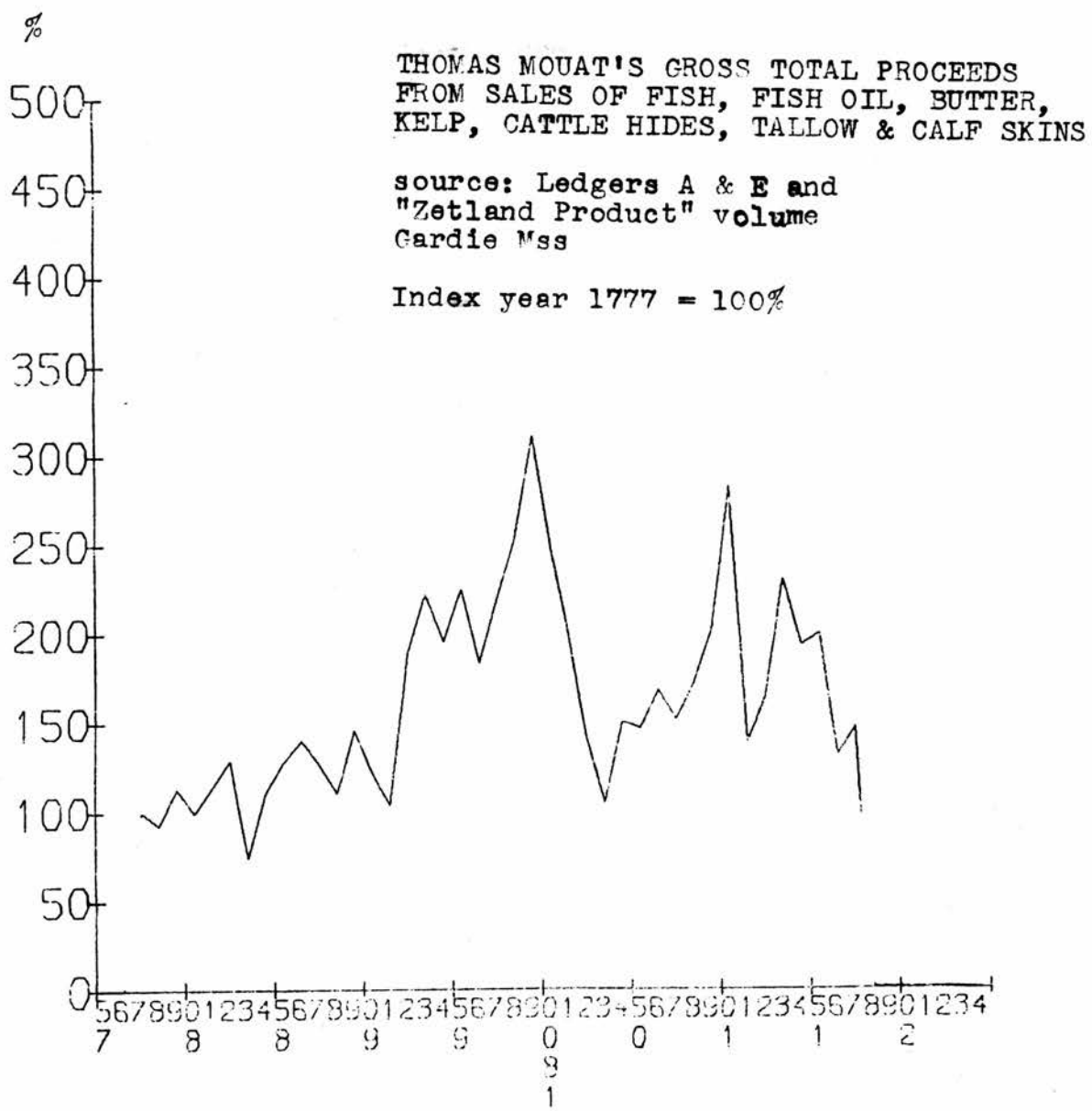
graph 12

Dividends paid to Thomas Mouat
from his investments in shipping
(including insurance payments from
vessels lost or damaged)
in £ sterling

NB The exceptional figure for 1814
was the result of insurance from the
wreck of the Leith-Lerwick packet



graph 13

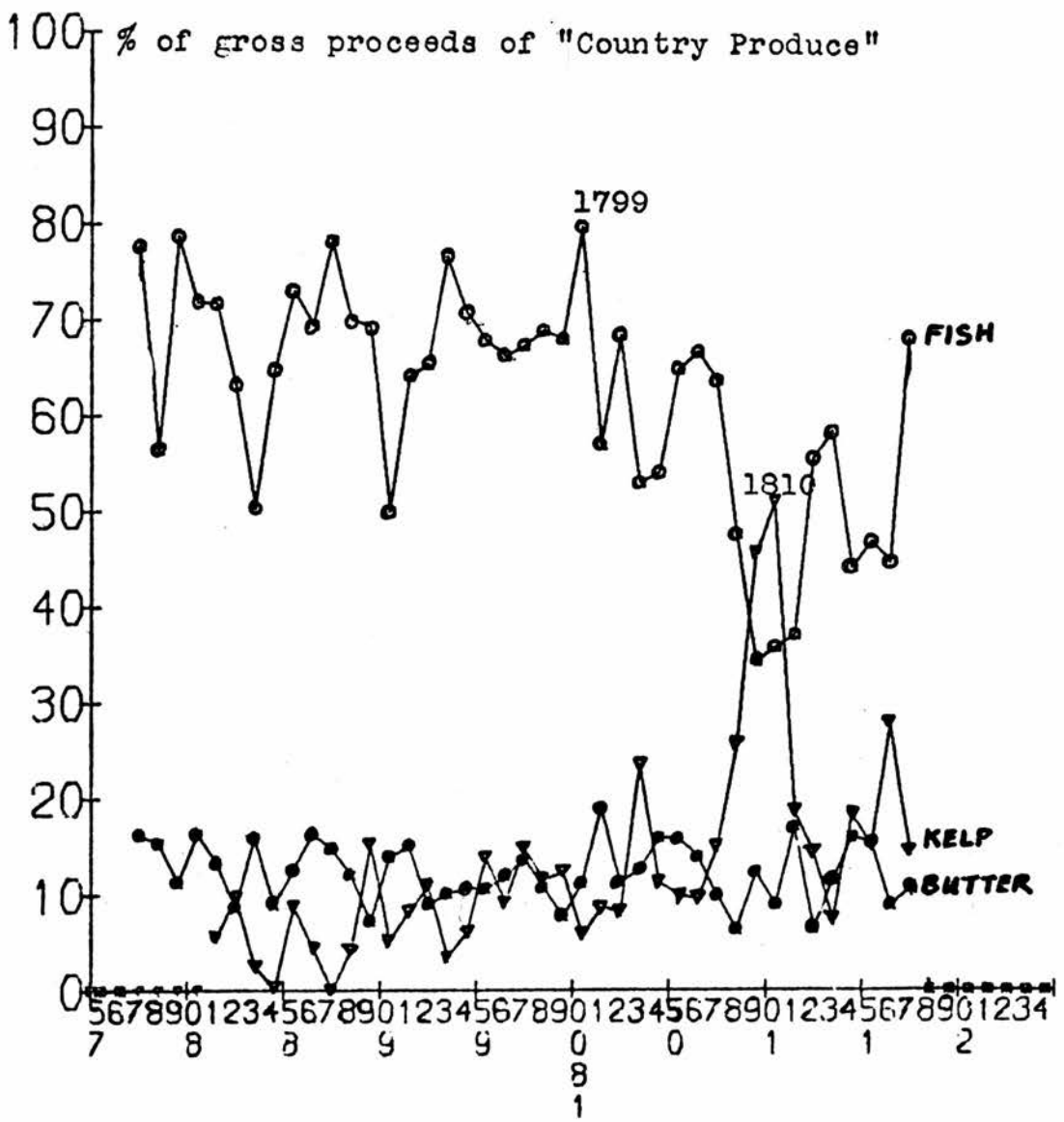

%
500
450
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
THOMAS MOUAT'S GROSS TOTAL PROCEEDS
FROM SALES OF FISH, FISH OIL, BUTTER,
KELP, CATTLE HIDES, TALLOW & CALF SKINS
source: Ledgers A & E and
"Zetland Product" volume
Gardie Mss
Index year 1777 = 100%
5678901234567890123456789012345678901234567890123456789012345678901234
7 8 8 9 9 0 0 1 1 2
9
1

graph 14

○ Proceeds from Thomas Mouat's sales of FISH as a percentage of Gross proceeds of "Country Produce"

● Proceeds from Thomas Mouat's sales of BUTTER as ditto

▽ Proceeds from Thomas Mouat's sales of KELP as ditto

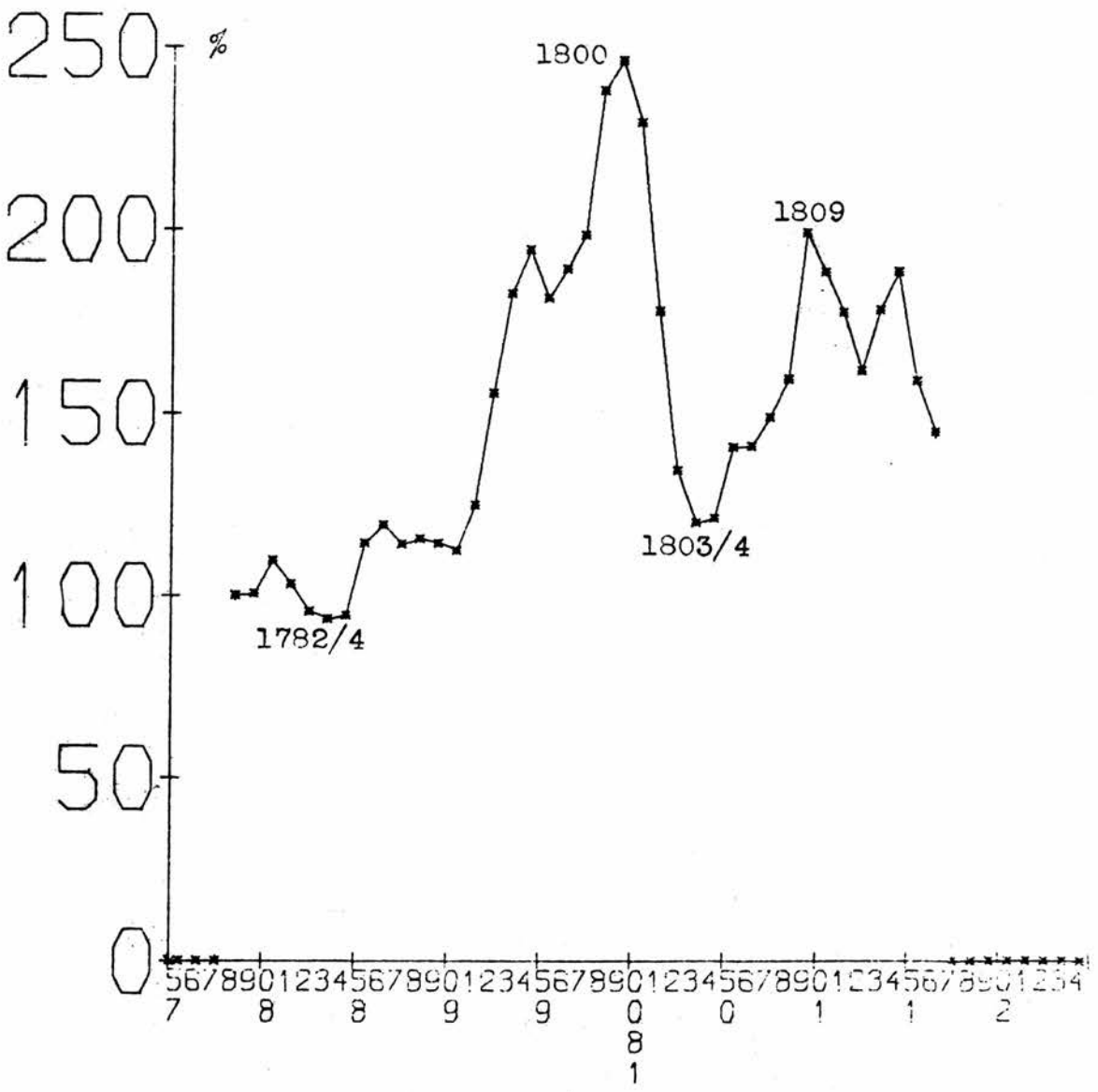


graph 15

Thomas Mouat's GROSS TOTAL PROCEEDS
from the sale of fish, fish oil, butter,
calf skins, cattle hides, salt beef, tallow
and kelp

Index year 1778 = 100?

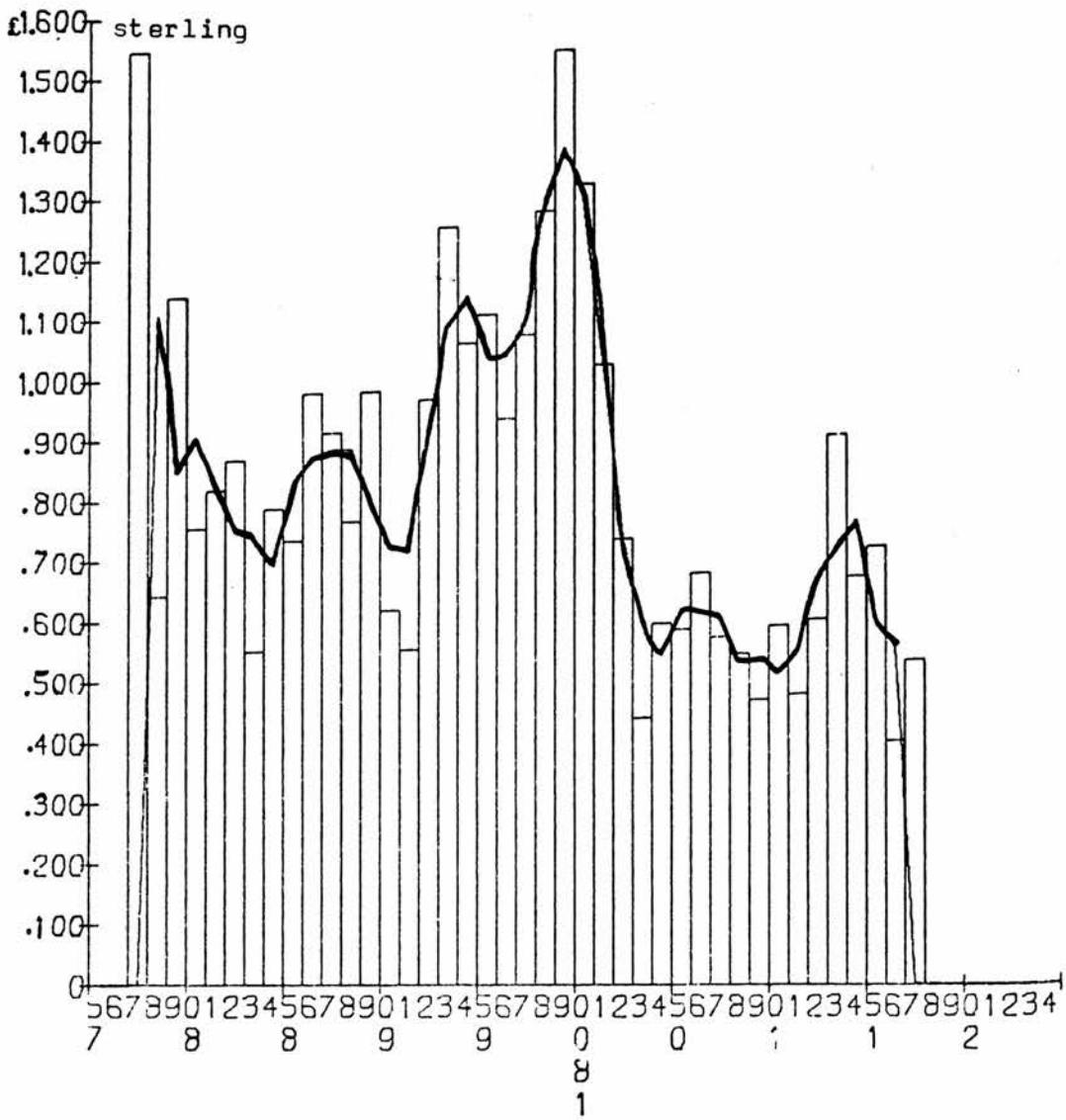
3 year running mean



graph 16

Gross Proceeds from the sale of all "Country Produce" (Fish, Fish Oil, Butter, Salt Beef, Hides & Skins, Tallow, and Kelp), in £Sterling per merk

Bar graph = crude data
Line graph = 3 year running mean



graph 17

Thomas Mouat's proceeds from the sale of

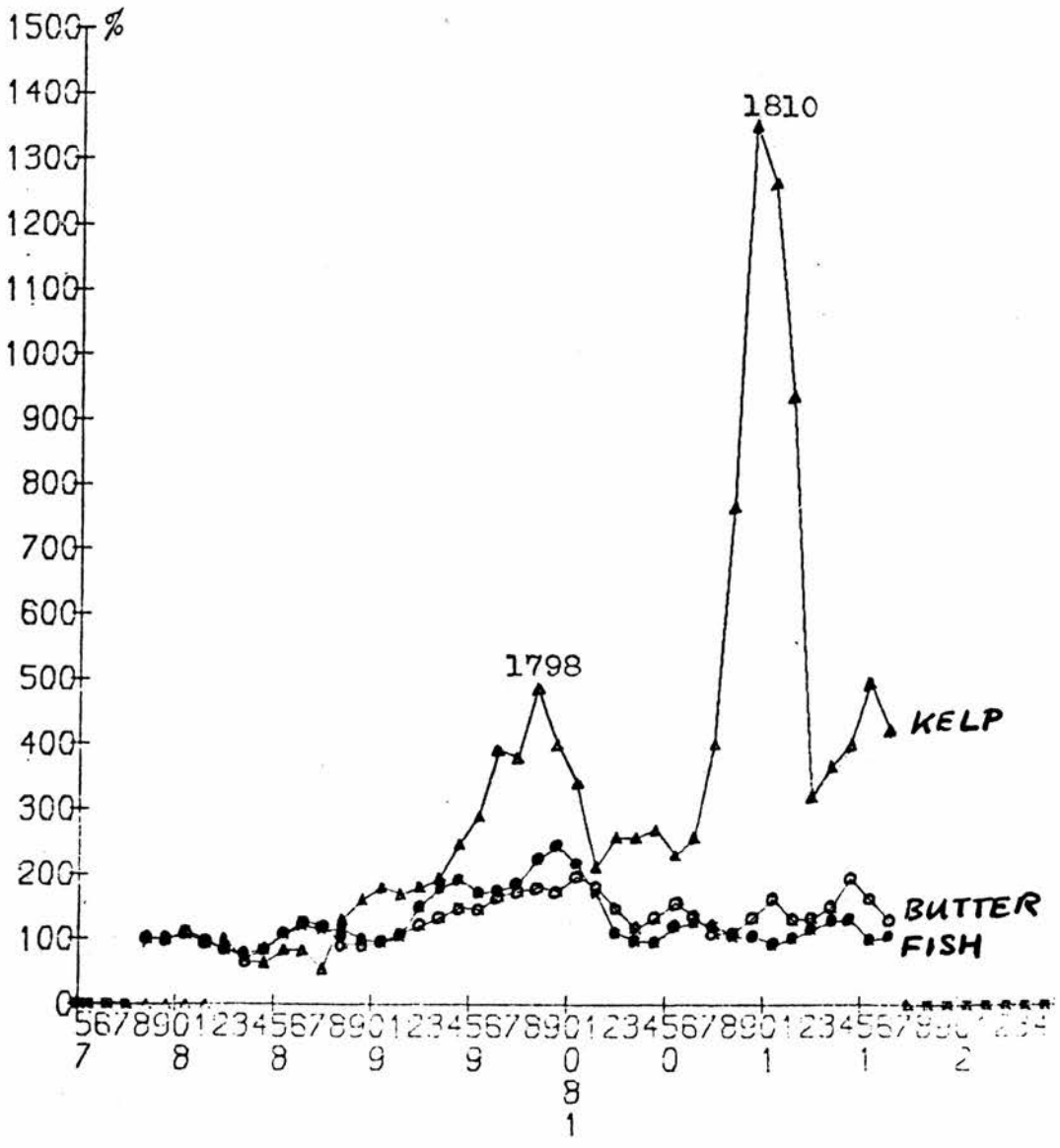
● FISH

o BUTTER

▲ KELP

Index year 1778 = 100

3 year running means



graph 18

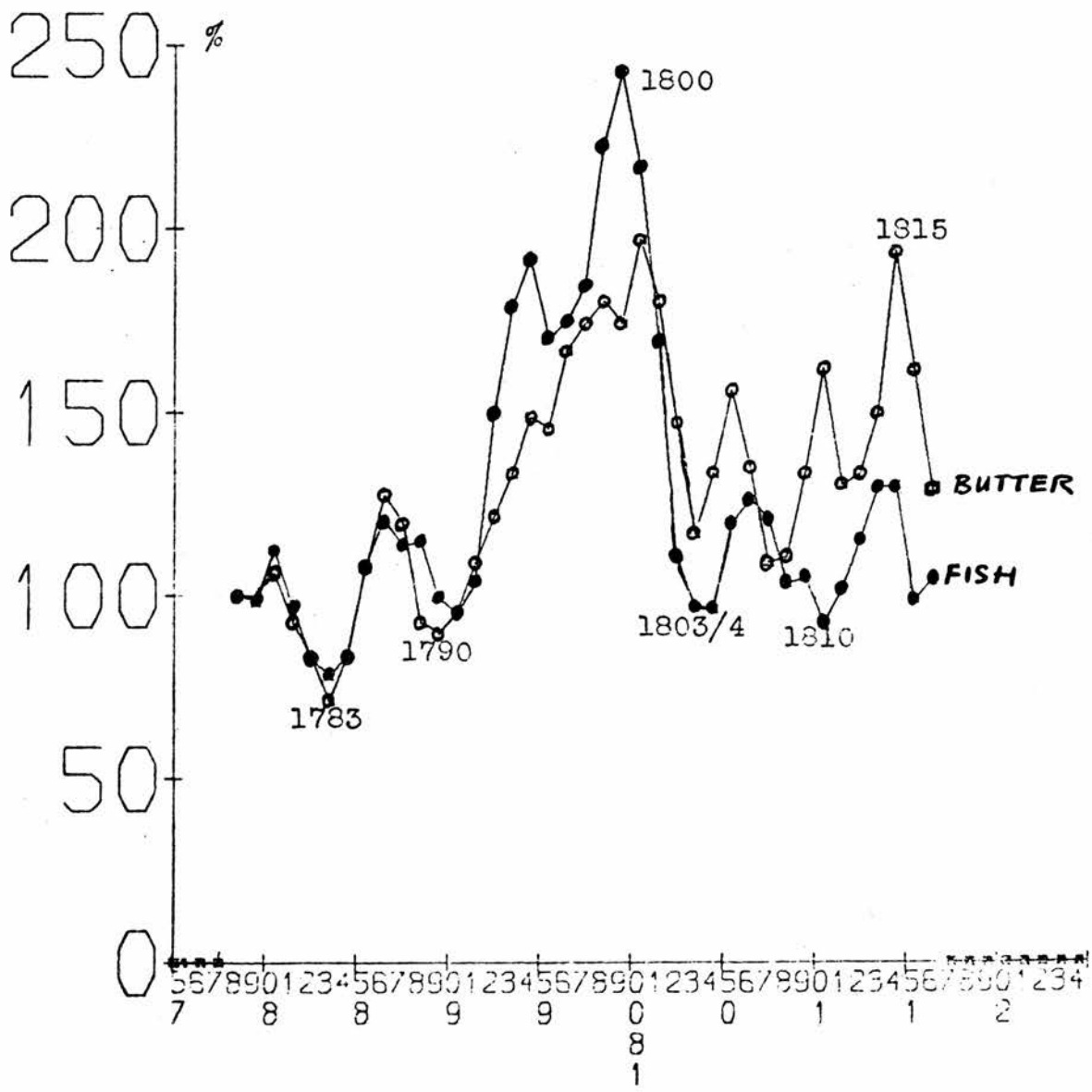
Thomas Mouat's proceeds from the sale of

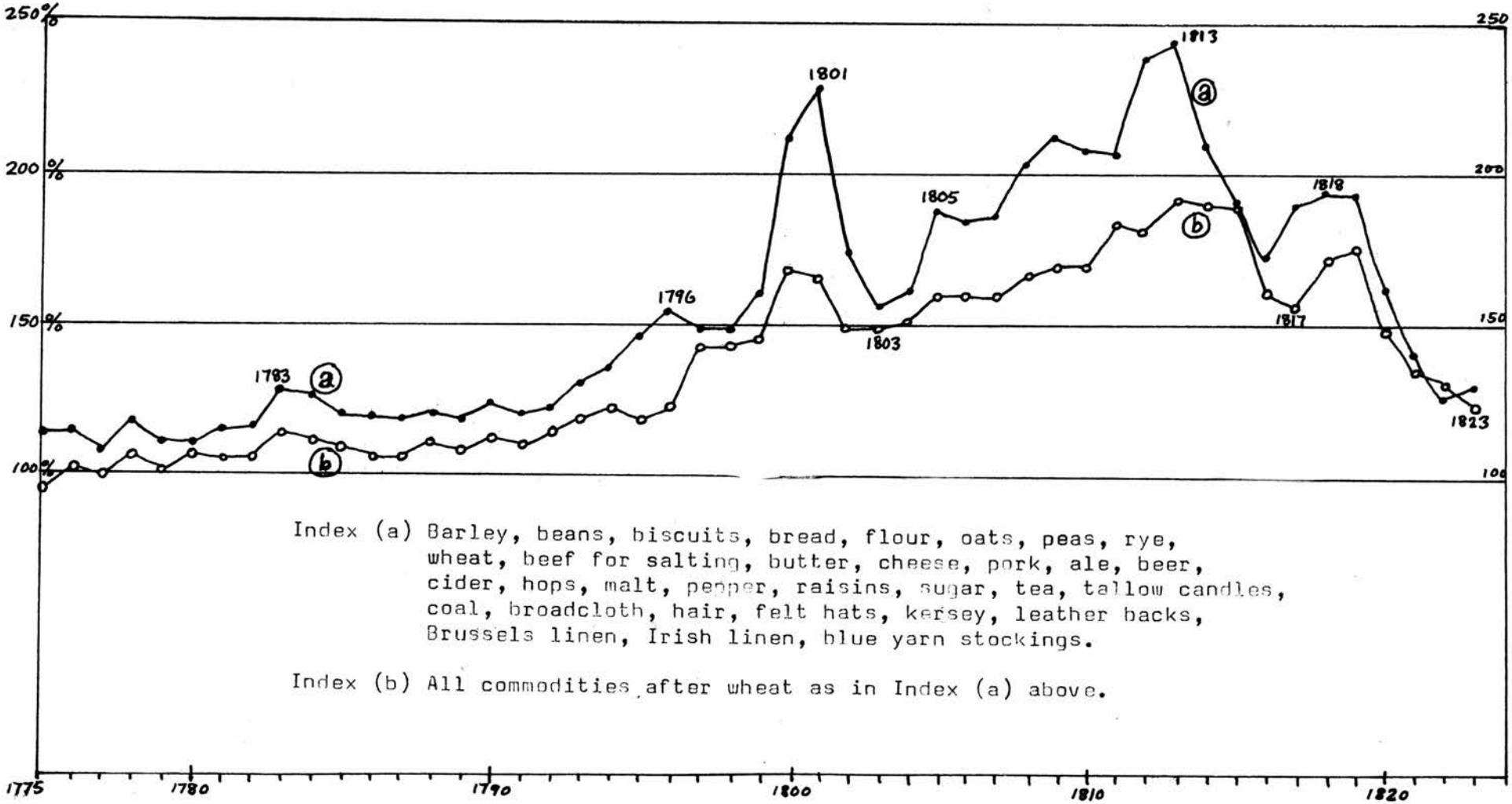
● FISH

o BUTTER

Index year 1778 = 100

3 year running means





Index (a) Barley, beans, biscuits, bread, flour, oats, peas, rye, wheat, beef for salting, butter, cheese, pork, ale, beer, cider, hops, malt, pepper, raisins, sugar, tea, tallow candles, coal, broadcloth, hair, felt hats, kersey, leather backs, Brussels linen, Irish linen, blue yarn stockings.

Index (b) All commodities after wheat as in Index (a) above.

An index of inflation
General British price levels for two categories of consumer goods
1775-1823
after Schumpeter & Gilboy, and Mitchell (1962)
Index year 1701 = 100

graph 18(a)

Chapter 4:3. The Financial Growth of Thomas Mouat's Estate

The Cardie papers include summaries of rentals and accounts, ledgers for dealings with tenants and merchants, ledgers which summarise the production of "country produce" - fish, fish oil, butter, salted beef, and cattle hides - and other files of miscellaneous receipts and accounts. These documents are substantially complete from 1777 to the present day, and the volume of information is so vast that it has been necessary to confine this study to sampling and summarising this data. A general impression of the financial fortunes of Thomas Mouat's estate from 1777 to 1819 may be gained from the graphs (2-18).

The most noticeable feature of Thomas Mouat's net income was the number of sources from which it arose. Before 1785 about a third of his money came from dividends on investments in stocks and in ships and from interest on debts; and after 1802 slightly less than a third. (Graph 9 - there is an unfortunate gap in these statistics from 1785 to 1801 inclusive.)

Most of the remainder came from sales of "country produce" (Graphs 3 and 13). Apart from a few years around 1809-1810 when the kelp boom was at its height (graphs 14 and 17) the major item of country produce was fish; together with fish oil it made up about three quarters of the value of gross proceeds throughout the period.

Butter and kelp each averaged about 10 to 20% of the proceeds (graph 14).

Within these broad generalisations (the details of commodity production are discussed below) there were frequent and sudden fluctuations, not only in the amount of money yielded annually from different commodities, but also in the share of each commodity in the

overall total (graphs 13 and 14).

All these figures represent gross income; Thomas Mouat did not usually calculate his net income as such, but he did leave figures of "balance gained" each year (graphs 3 and 4) which represent what was left over after his own personal and household expenses - in effect this was his "pure profit". For the fourteen years when he did calculate net income it appears that his return on assets was between 4 and 8%, averaging 5½%.

The "Balance Gained" crude figures show a continual upward trend throughout the period; after hesitant growth in the 1780's, and a very bad year in 1783 when he only just broke even, the 1790's showed sustained and spectacular returns. The profit per merk trebled between 1790 and 1801.. The fall in profits in the dearth of 1802-04 was certainly serious - not until 1809-10 was the 1801 level regained - but even in this period the returns per merk were twice as much as those for his much smaller estate in the 1780's. After 1804 the general trend of growth was continued; by 1814 the returns were up to 125% of the peak years in the late 1790's, and double those for the bad years of 1802-03.

This does not take into account inflation, which would have reduced this increase in real terms. There is no reliable index of local inflation for the period, but the Schumpeter-Gilboy index gives a rough idea of British consumer price fluctuations (Graph 18A). Between 1793 and 1815 it appears that the price of consumer goods, including most food items, rose on average by between 45% and 55%, although at times such as the economic ~~curses~~ crises of 1807-1808 and 1811-1813 they stood even higher, more than 100% above 1793 levels. By all appearances Mouat was doing much better than just keeping his head above water.

"Land Income"

The proportion of Thomas Mouat's income that arose purely from his estate (i.e. the value of tack duties, rents, kelp profits, and fishing profits) was only calculated in his ledgers for the years 1777-1784, 1802-1807, 1809-1815 and 1817 inclusive. The crude figures show a growth from about £100-£175 sterling per annum in the late seventies and early eighties to between £1,000 and £1,400 per annum in the 1810-1818 period. In the earlier period this income made up from 22% to 52% of his net income, whereas from 1802 to 1817 it was between 58% and 78%.

Despite the fluctuations in the various sources of income, the estimated value of Thomas Mouat's assets showed an almost constant rate of increase. The problem is how this was achieved, bearing in mind the inflation of the Napoleonic Wars, the possibility that Mouat overestimated his assets, and the fact that he had no regular system of calculating depreciation.

Firstly, he was never seriously in debt for more than a year at a time. Even after the disasters of 1783-1784 the "book" value of his liabilities only rose to about 20% of his "book" assets, and after 1787 it remained steady at about 5% with minor increases in 1793 and in 1804-1805. (Graph 2)

Second, at the very time when his income from country produce took a severe knock in 1801-1804, he put more of his money into stocks and bonds outside Shetland (graph 10). Although the return on these investments was then relatively lower than in earlier years (and actually formed a smaller proportion of his income than in 1785), the crude amount invested was much larger after 1801 and the diversion of capital into these more stable securities saved him from

serious financial embarrassment. The 1801-1805 food shortages, crop failure and livestock mortality were at least as serious as those of the 1780's yet the upward curve of estimated assets hardly faltered. The increased production and price of kelp no doubt contributed to this and to some extent compensated for the spectacular drop in the proceeds of fishing in the latter dearth.

The figures after 1800 for net income and balance gained did show considerable variation within a general upward trend, and it may be that Mouat's meticulous valuation of the smallest items of household paraphernalia made the assets curve appear more healthy than it really was. A large part of the convertible assets would have been tied up in stored stocks of fish, fish oil, butter and kelp, so it may be that he often overestimated their likely market value when he made out his accounts at 31 December each year. Despite all these reservations, the remarkable fact remains that he was "worth" £4,030 sterling in 1777 and £40,838 in 1817, a wealthy man by any eighteenth century standards, even after the inflation of the 1797 paper money crisis and of the Wars in general. His net annual cash income rose from about £250 sterling in 1777 to over £2,250 by 1814, although by 1817 it had declined to about £1,800 (principally due to the collapse of Kelp).

The Merk of Land as a Measure of Relative Profit

All these figures refer to the production of an estate that was increasing in size. The only index we have of its size is the number of merks it comprised in each year. The extent of the merk, as pointed out elsewhere, is very problematical (the more so as there were several different values of merk), but it is better than nothing as an index of the value of the lands owned by Mouat, and of the

scale of his activities. The alternatives are not practicable; it would be difficult if not impossible to calculate the number of persons engaged in agriculture, fishing and kelping on the estate; the number of holdings is an unreliable index because of considerable variations in farm sizes over time and area; even the number of fishing boats is not always easy to calculate. Therefore, despite the superficial absurdity of such expressions as "fish production per merk of land", all the financial and commodity figures have been expressed as "so much of such and such per merk", as being the best feasible annual measure of the relative production of the estate at various times..

Conclusions

When we express in this way the overall figures for Balance Gained, Gross Proceeds and Fish Sales, certain generalisations may be made.

After 1789, although productivity of Mouat's enlarged estate did not rise much in terms of the market value of the goods, (gross proceeds per merk ranging from 60% to 140% of the productivity in 1778) the "Balance Gained" on profit accumulated per merk of land for re-investment rose dramatically. By 1795 the rate of profit was more than double what it had been in 1791, and by 1801 was nearly thrice ~~times~~ that rate. Although the rate of profit was halved between 1801 and 1804, (when the Gross Proceeds per merk of land also fell - from 125% to 60% of the 1778 figure), by 1813 it had risen again, to seven times the 1778 level.

It is therefore clear that from 1792 onwards Thomas Mouat was extracting far more of the value of the estate produce - in the form of profit for re-investment in Shetland and elsewhere - than was normal in the previous fifteen years. This should be borne in mind

when considering the social unrest of the later period, described in Chapter 3 above and Chapter 6 below.

The dearths of 1782-1785 and of 1801-1807 both had a serious effect on relative profits, the second being comparatively more serious but offset by sizeable external investments. Recovery after both periods was quite rapid. Most of the variation in the Gross Proceeds curve is explained by the fortunes of the fish trade. This bears out the comments of the ministers on the significance of fishing in the lairds' income.

If these figures are indicative (bearing in mind the limitations of the data and the method of analysis) they give an indication that Thomas Mouat and (probably) his fellow lairds were mistaken in their claim that they were not making a healthy profit. The diversity of income sources was his great strength; even in years of "dearth and distress" landowners of Mouat's stature were not in serious financial difficulties. His income allowed him a standard of living unknown to any of his own ancestors (including his father). He was one of the first Shetland landowners to afford the luxury of a permanent base in Edinburgh; in 1807 he paid a total of £925 for his half-share (with his nephews Robert Hunter and William Mouat) in two houses in St. James Square.*

(Gardie Papers Ledger A f20)

With Thomas Mouat's financial success the family cast off the last traces of their historical role as colonial settlers, and became a part, albeit a remote and idiosyncratic part, of the social and economic life of "metropolitan" Scotland (as far as the sailing packets would allow), in the role of comfortable country gentry.

* Recently demolished to make way for "development".

Chapter 4:4. The Production of Commodities

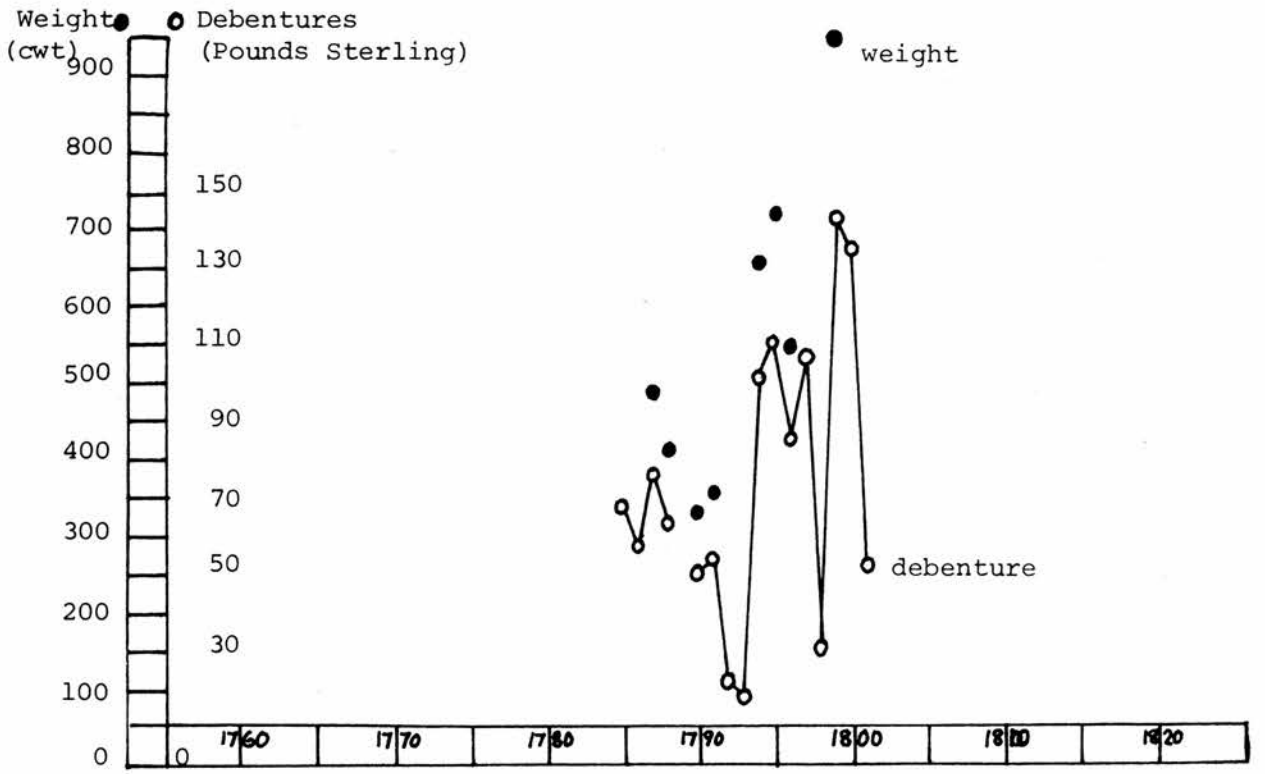
FISH

Graphs 20 - 33

o Debentures received by Thomas Mouat
on fish exported by him
In Pounds Sterling

● Weight of fish on which these
debentures were paid
In hundredweights

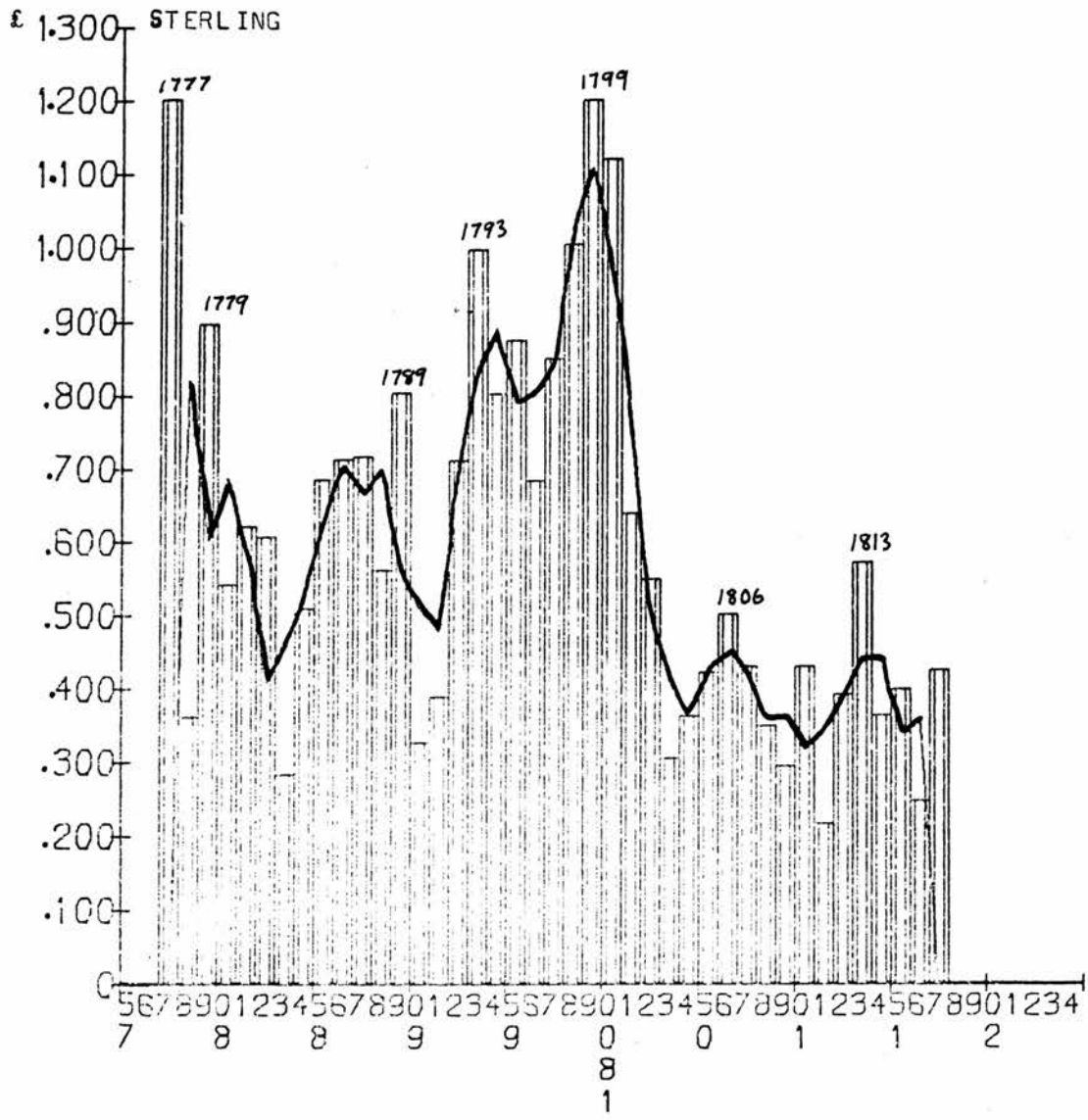
From Thomas Mouat's ledger AB4
Gardie Mss

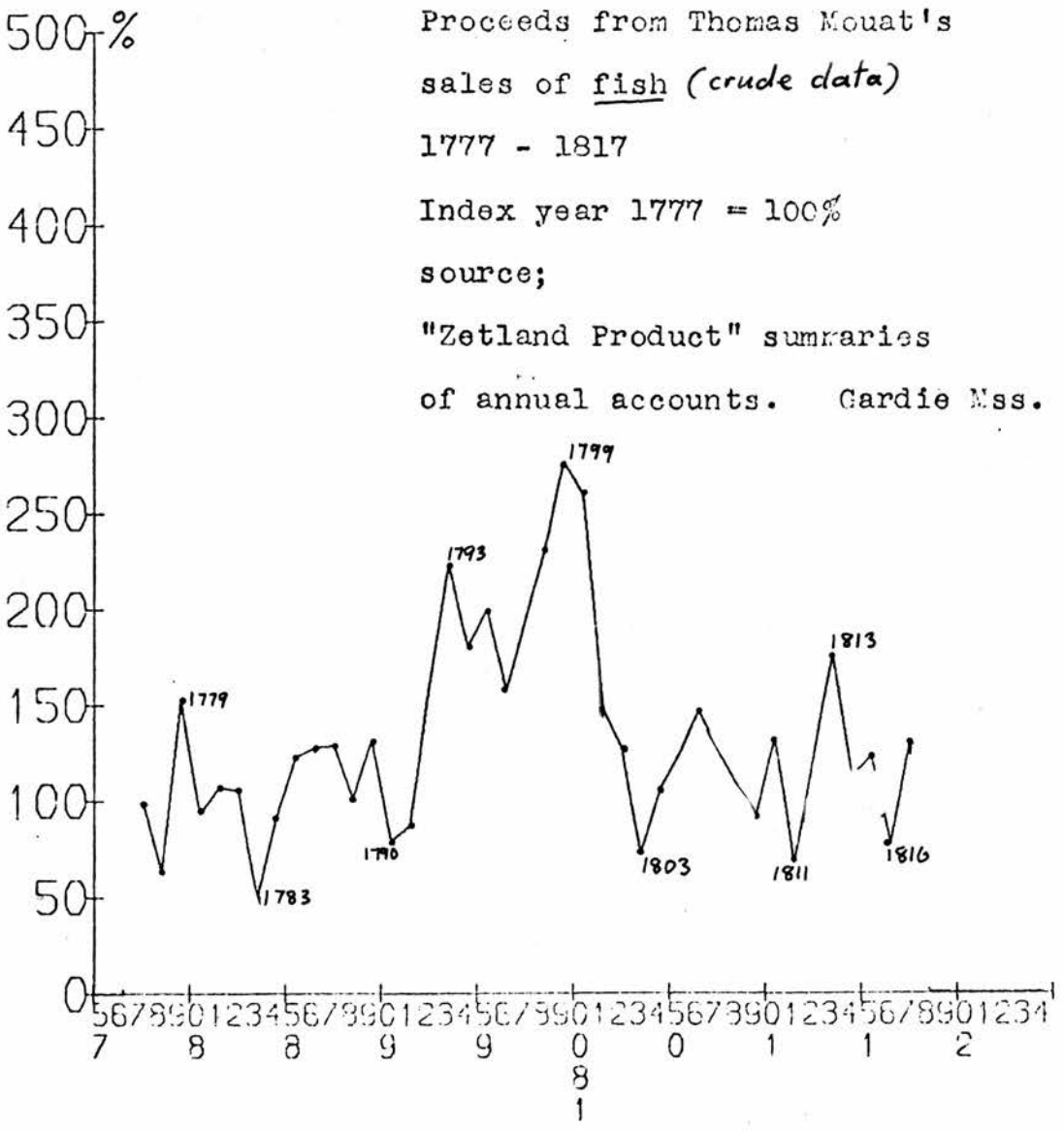


graph 21

Value of Proceeds from the sale of FISH, in £Sterling per merk

Bar Graph = crude annual figures
Line Graph = the above as a 3 year running mean.





Proceeds from Thomas Mouat's sales of fish *(crude data)*

1777 - 1817

Index year 1777 = 100%

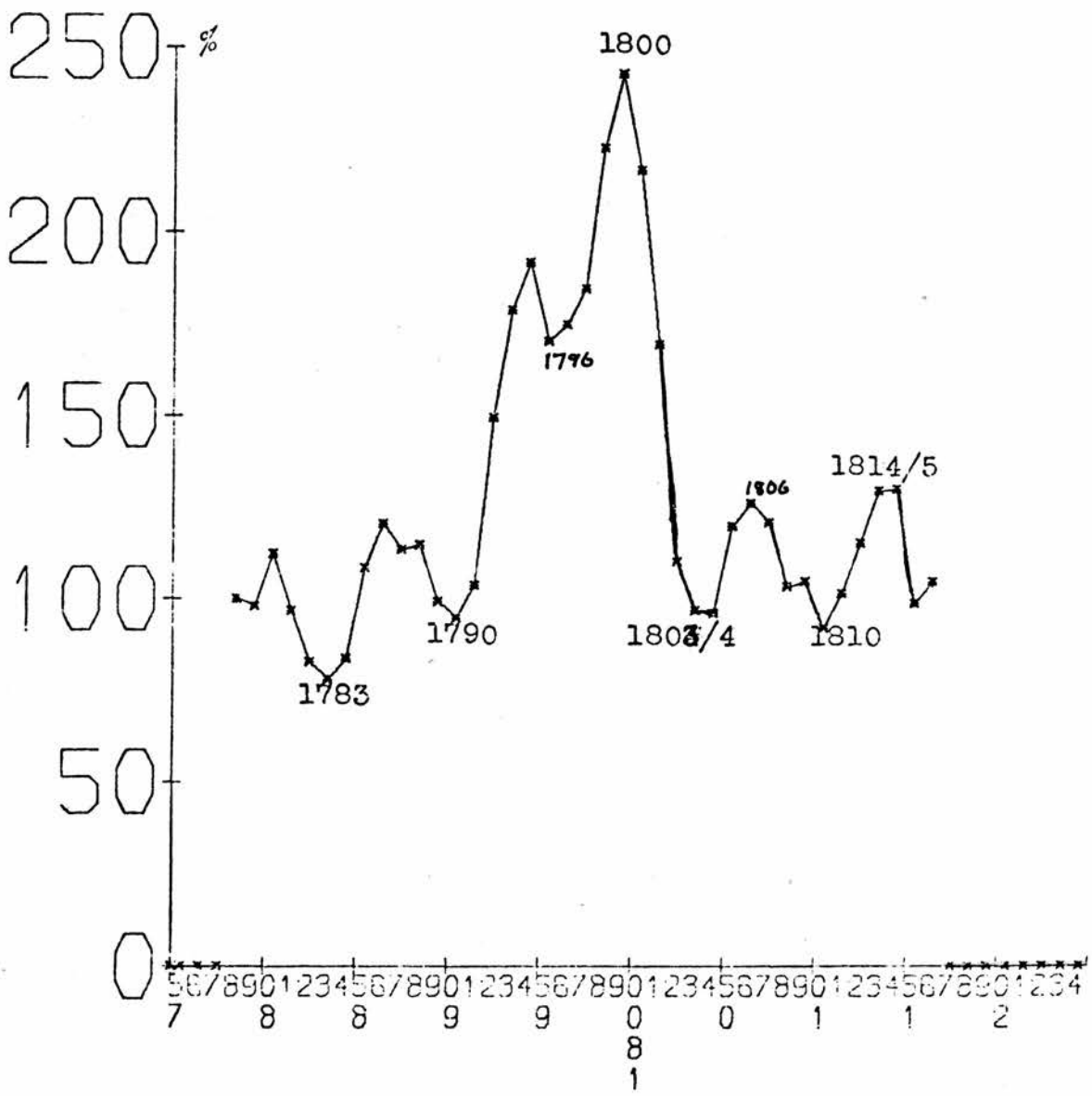
source;

"Zetland Product" summaries of annual accounts. Gardie Mss.

Thomas Youat's proceeds from the sale of **FISH**

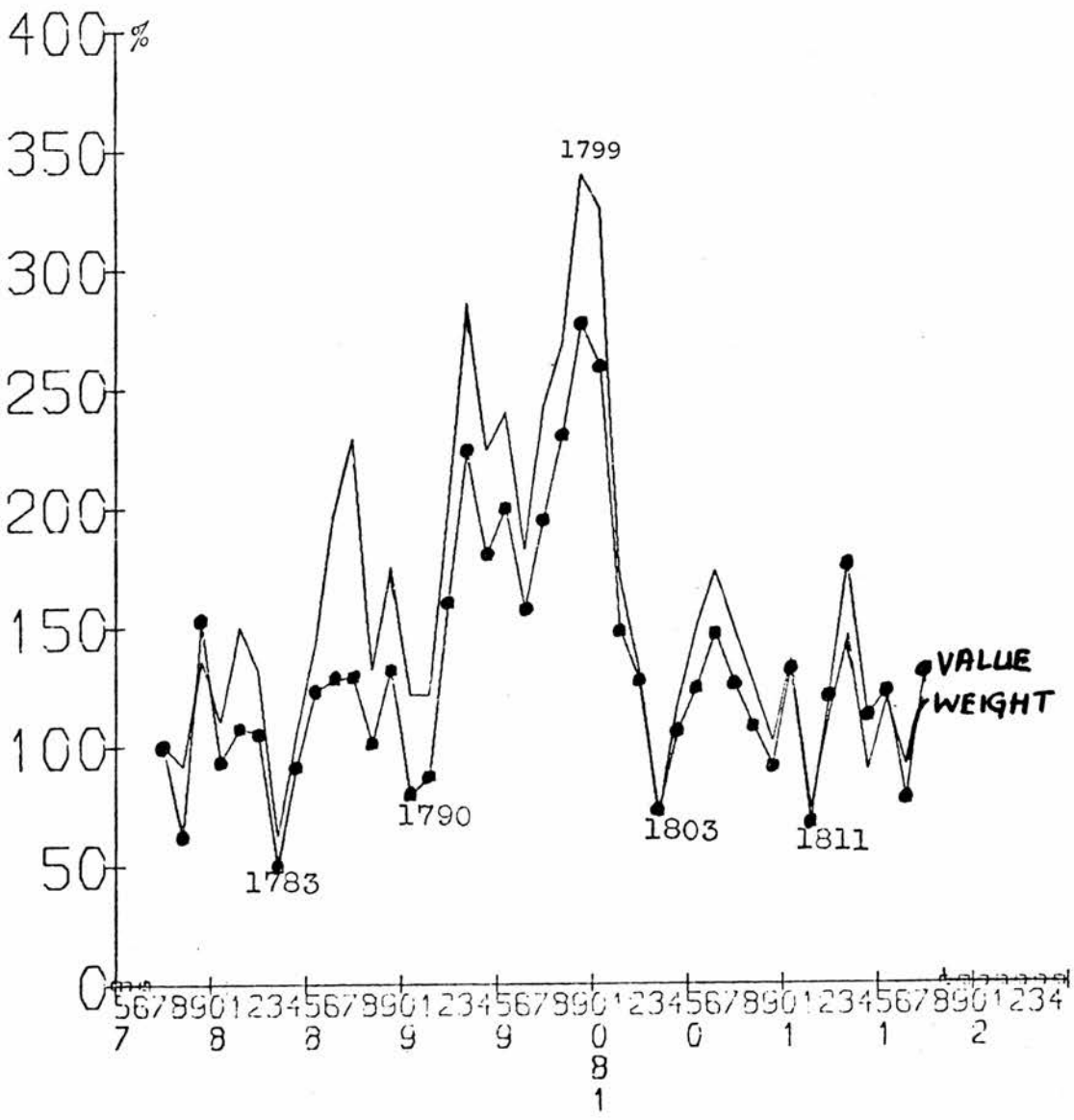
Index year 1778 = 100%

3 year running mean



• Proceeds from Thomas Mouat's sales of fish
— Weight of fish caught by Thomas Mouat's tenants

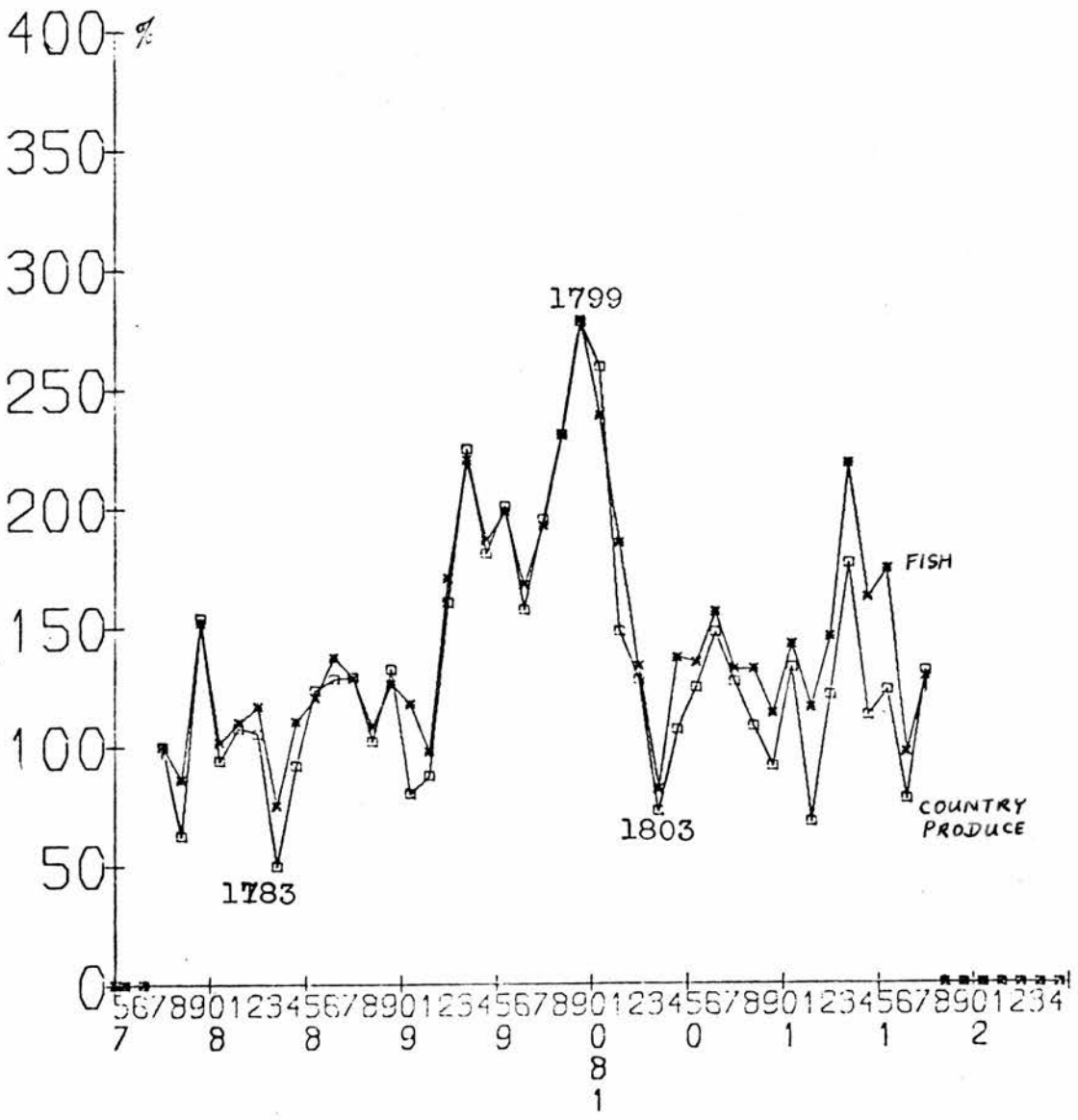
Index year 1777 = 100



□ Proceeds from Thomas Mouat's sales of fish

✱ Gross proceeds from Thomas Mouat's sales of all "Country Produce" - except kelp (i.e. fish, fish oil, butter, cattle hides, calf skins, salt beef and tallow)

Index year 1777 = 100



graph 27

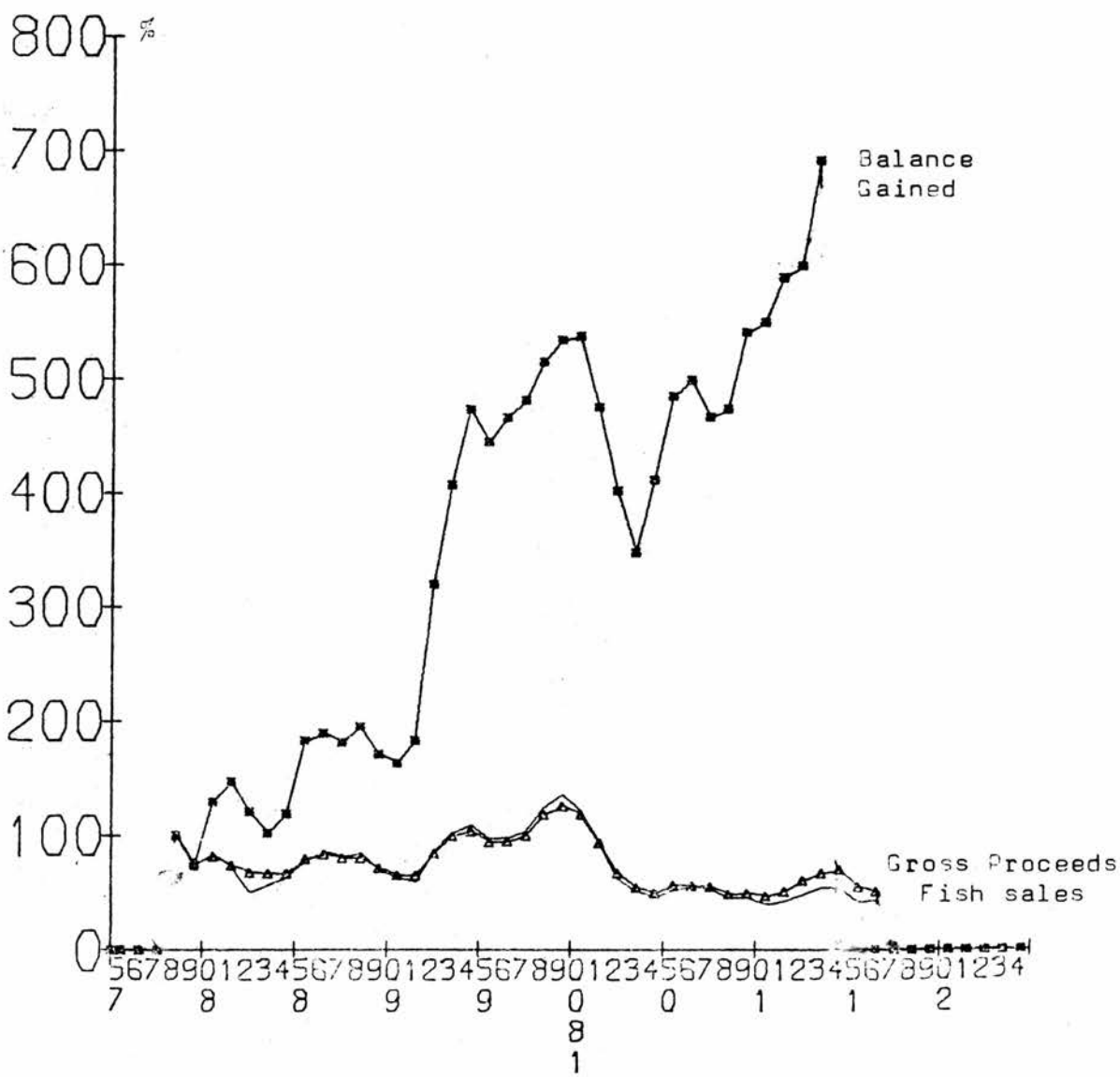
——— Value of FISH produced from Thomas Mouat's estate, in Pounds Sterling PER MERK OF LAND

* Value of "BALANCE GAINED" (i.e. net profit) from the sale of all "Country Produce" of Thomas Mouat's estate, in Pounds Sterling PER MERK OF LAND

Δ Value of GROSS PROCEEDS from the sale of all "Country Produce"of Thomas Mouat's estate, in Pounds Sterling PER MERK OF LAND

3 year running means

Index year = 1778 = 100



graph 28

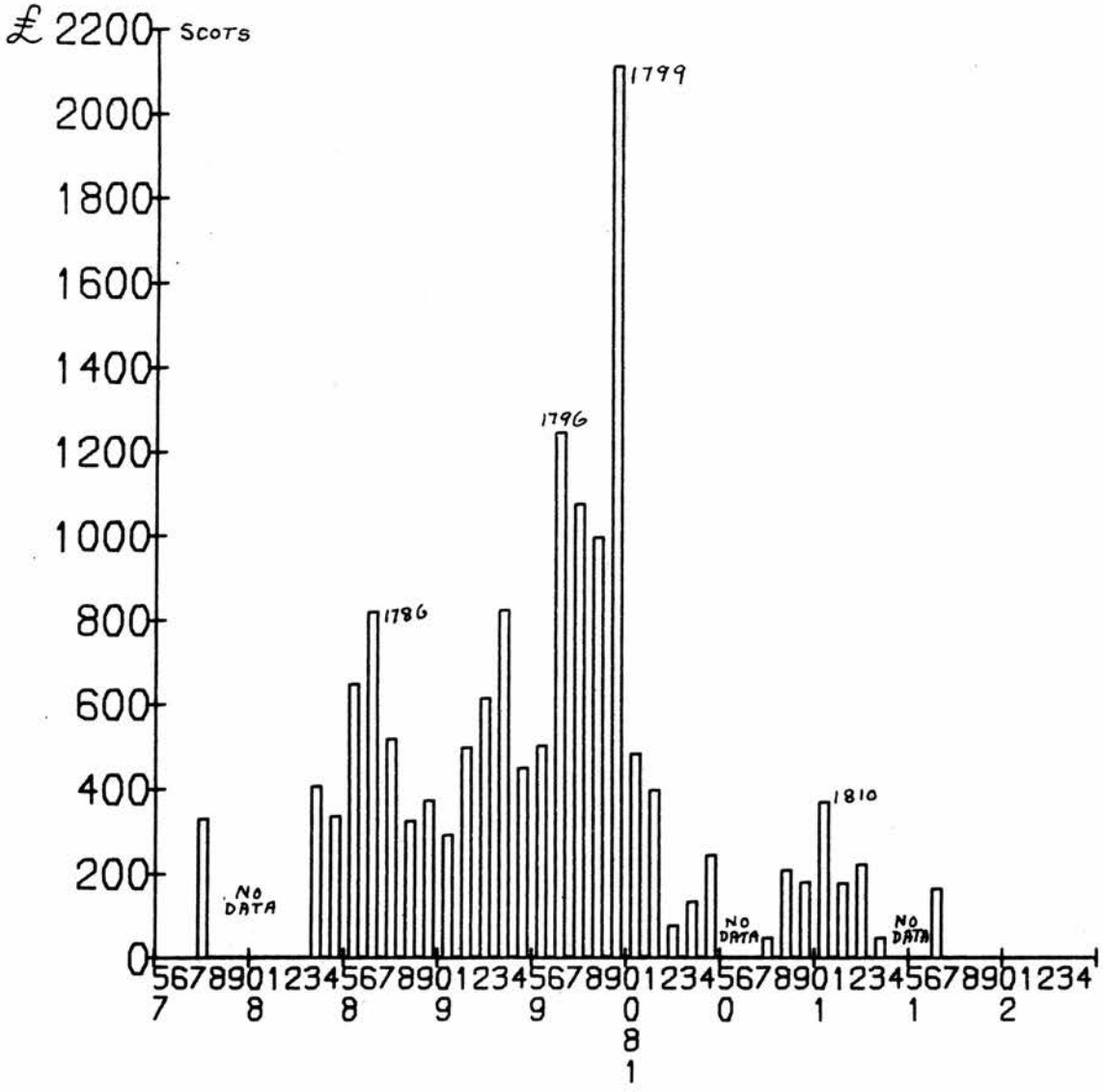
Thomas Mouat's stocks of "WINTER FISH"

(cured fish stored for the winter in his booth at Muness, Unst)

as at 31 December each year

from his "Zetland Product" book
Gardie Mss

NB The high figure for 1799 includes extra stocks that were intended for sale in autumn 1799 but could not find a market

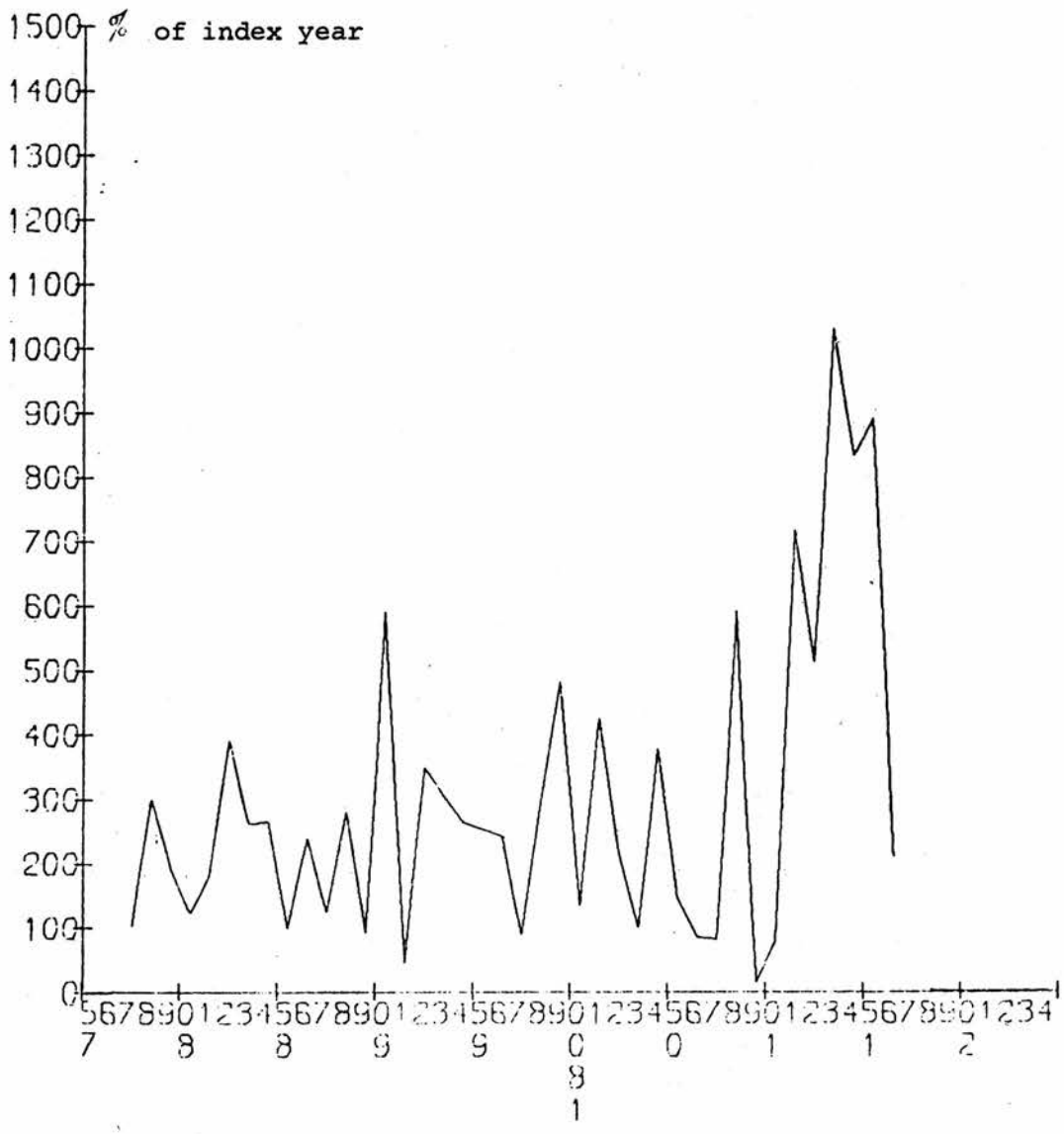


Proceeds from Thomas Mouat's sales of

FISH OIL

Index year 1777 = 100

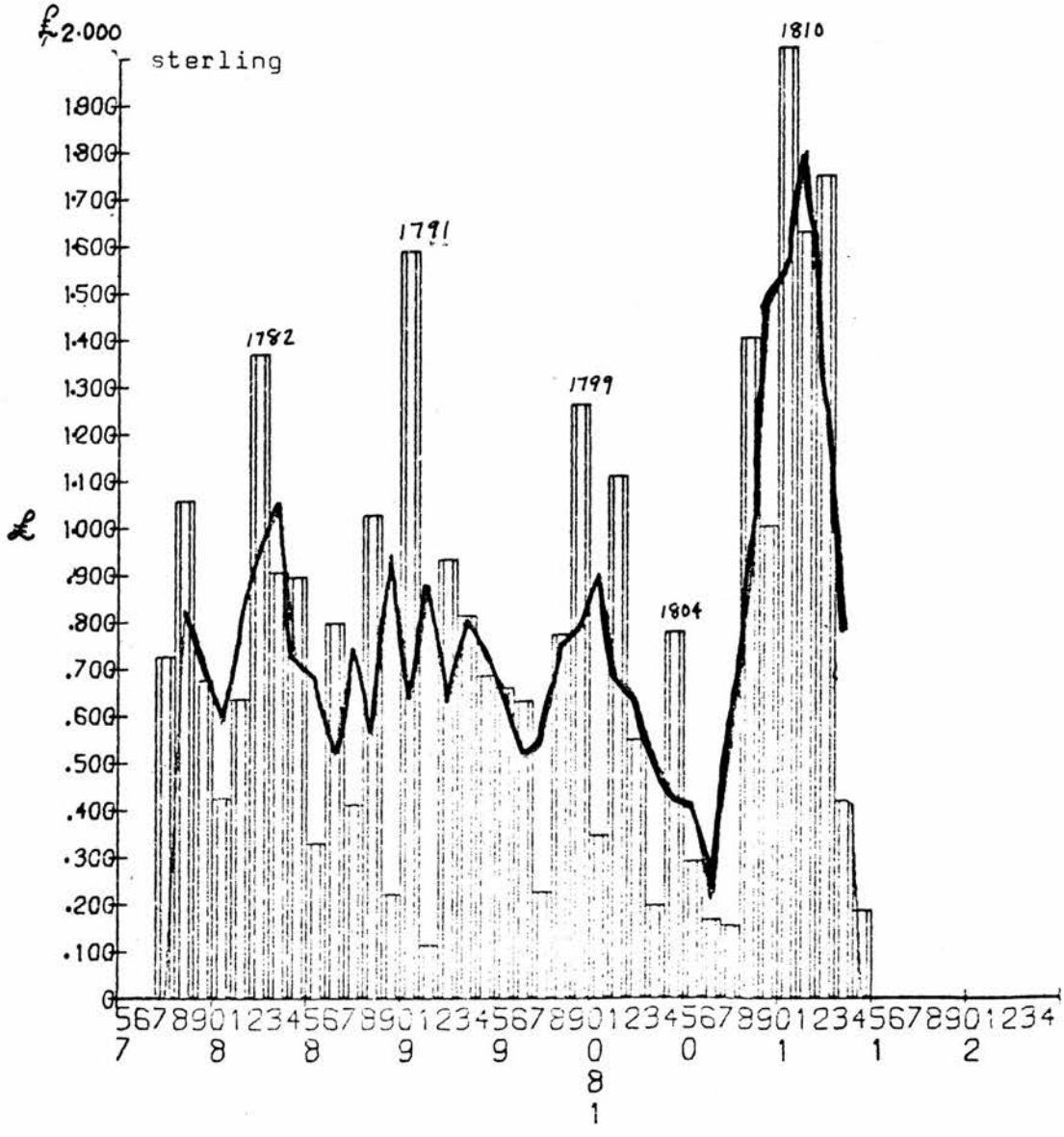
Source; "Zetland Product" book,
Gardie Mss



Annual production of FISH OIL
(Saithe liver oil)
in Pounds Sterling
PER MERK OF LAND on Thomas Mouat's
estate

Bar graph = crude figures

Line graph = 3 year running mean



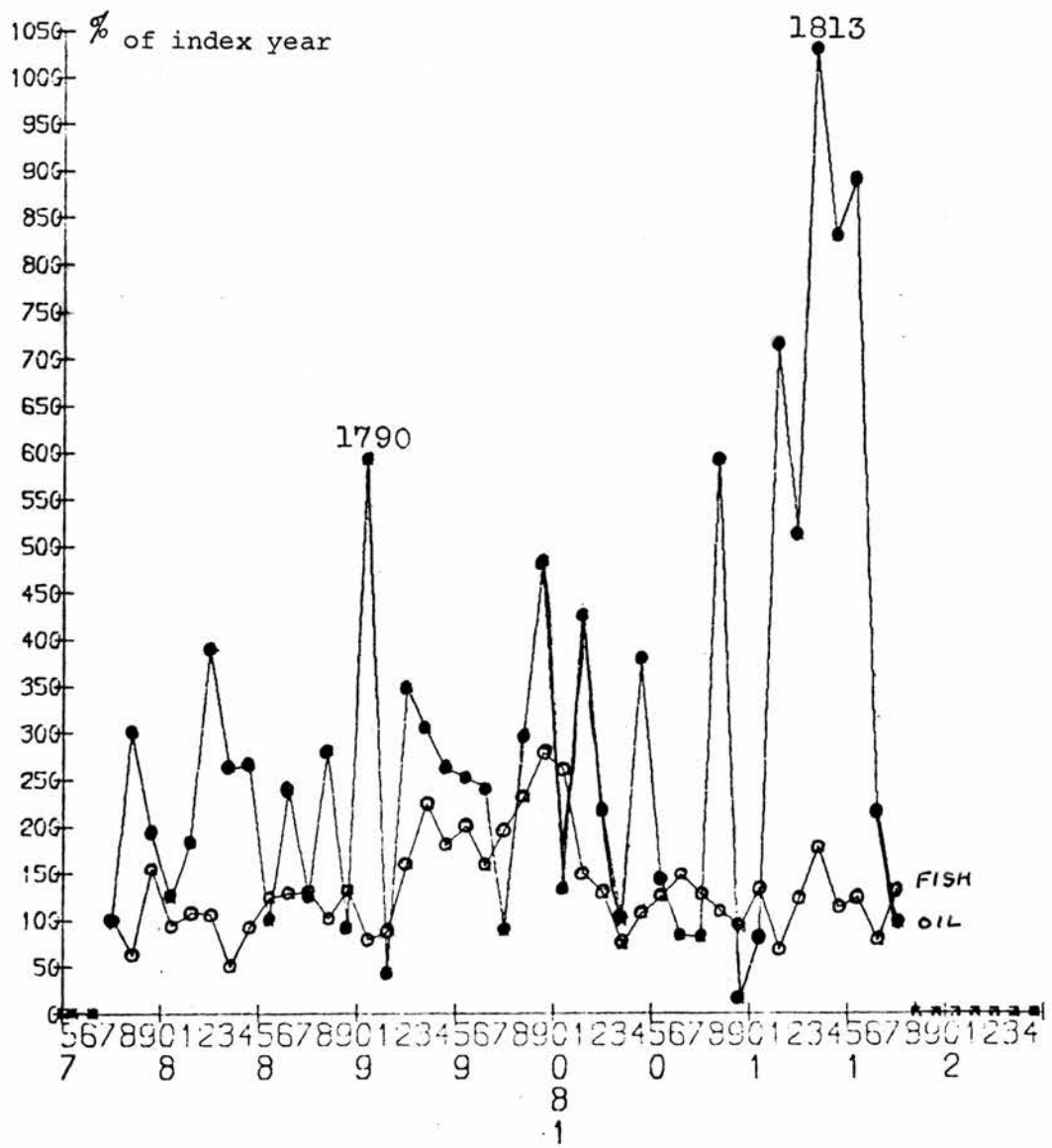
graph 31

Proceeds from Thomas Mouat's sales of

● FISH OIL (saithe liver oil)

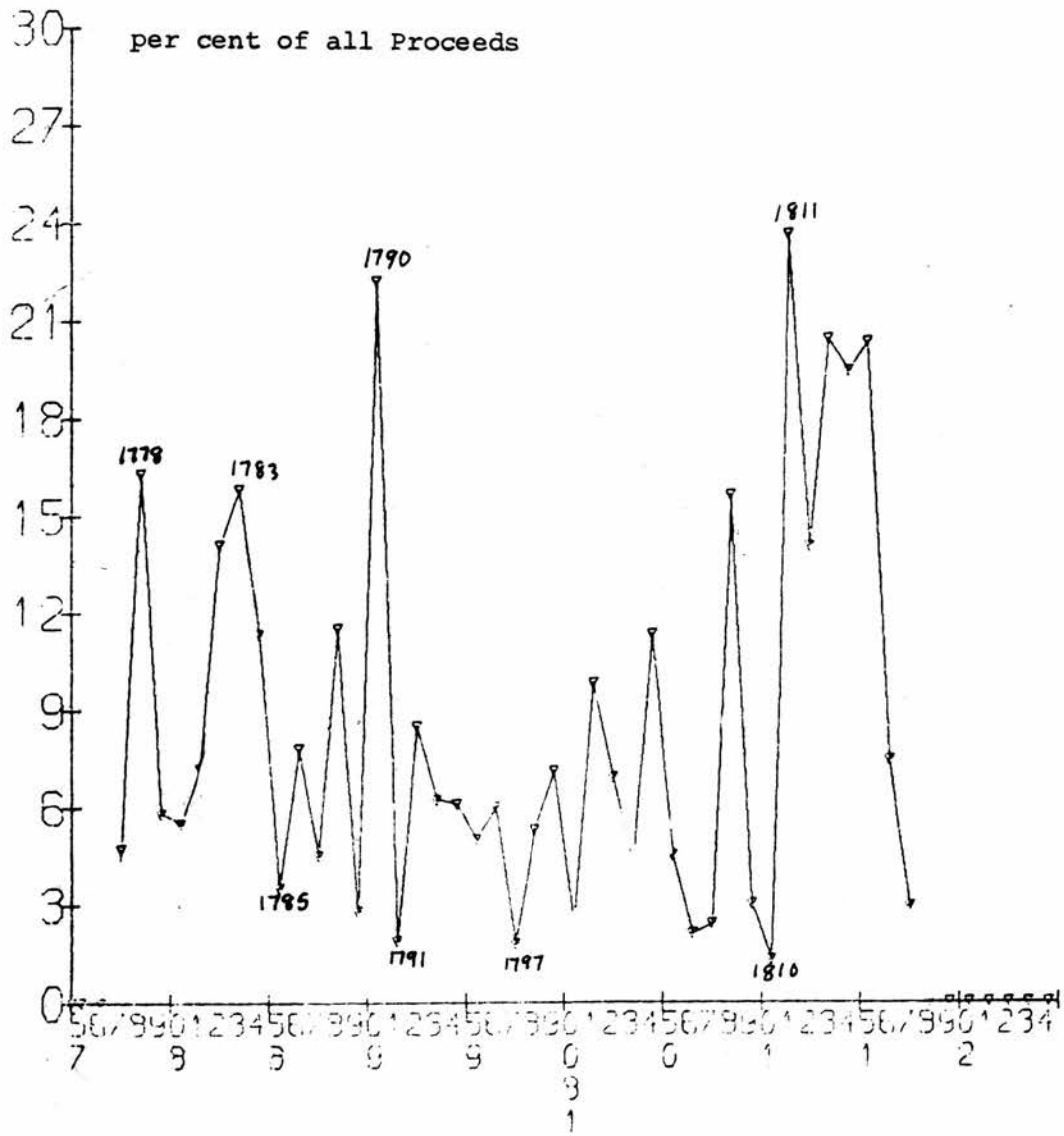
o FISH (cod, ling and tusk)

Index year 1777 = 100



graph 32

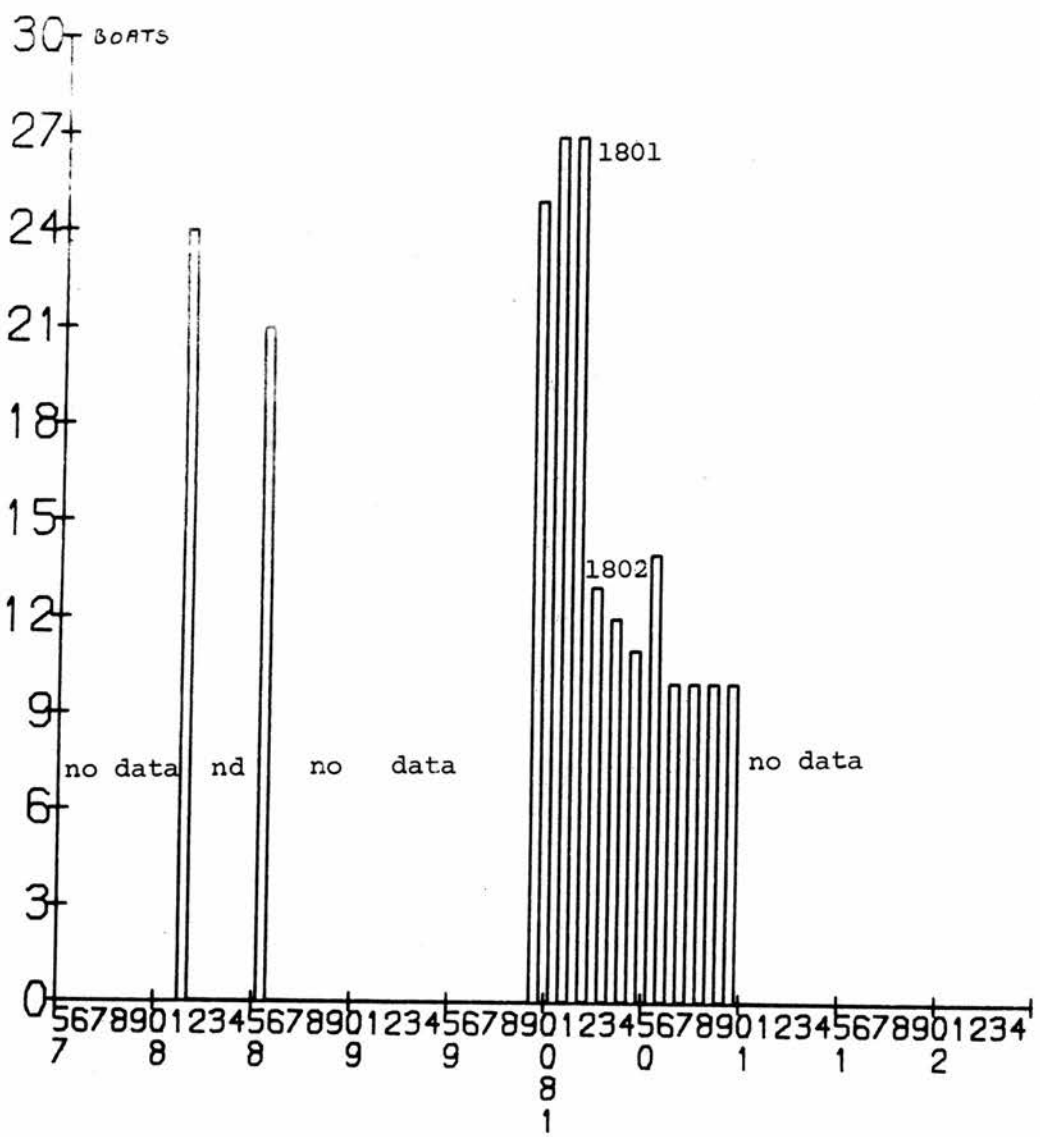
Proceeds from Thomas Mouat's sales of
FISH OIL (saithe liver oil)
as a percentage of his Gross Proceeds from the
sale of all "Country Produce"



graph 33

Number of boats fishing for Thomas Mouat from his lands in Unst

NB From 1802 onwards the boats fishing from the north parish part of the estate did so for a tacksman and their numbers were no longer recorded in Mouat's ledgers



Chapter 4:4. Production of "Country Produce" on Thomas Mouat's Estate 1777 - 1817

FISH

The graphs (21 to 27) suggest several major fluctuations in the production of fish. Graph 23 shows that between about 1791 and 1803 there appears to have been a spectacular boom - sales in 1800, the peak year, were 2½ times greater than in 1790. Part of this was due to the acquisition of the valuable Muness fishings but the general 1790's trend towards higher production must also be taken into account. Graph 21 shows that in produce per merk, as well as in crude totals, this boom was a very marked feature.

In addition to this boom there are four other fluctuations to be noted from Graph 23; there was a 25% drop in production (as Graph 24 shows, there was a very close correlation between production and proceeds) in the 1782-1784 period, which must be attributed to the serious dearth of those years, and may also have exacerbated the dearths. Fishing revived in the later 1780's, with only a minor setback in 1789-91 (possibly due to labour shortages and bad weather) before the extraordinary growth of the 1790's.

The apparent slump in 1801-1804, falling in 1803 below the level attained by a much smaller estate in 1777 (but see below), seems to have had more diverse causes. A large number of fishermen were in the Navy; there was a temporary revival of whaling jobs in the brief peace of 1802-3 (see Cap 6 below); markets were uncertain; to complicate matters severe weather and crop failures contributed to the second major dearth of the period under study.

Graph 21 seems to suggest that in real terms the fish production of the estate in 1802-3 fell below that of 1782-5 and

remained at this low level until at least 1818 apart from minor revivals in 1806 and 1813. This fall in productivity would have been exacerbated by inflation (though it can be argued that there was actually some deflation in the 1801-03 period - see Graph 18A). It looks as if Thomas Mouat's enlarged fishing estate was not as profitable to him as he had expected, but there is one major factor that may have distorted the data.

In 1801 Thomas Mouat set in tack to George Spence the rents and fishings of his north parish lands in Unst. The proceeds of the fishings on this part of the estate now contributed to the fixed tack duty paid by Spence, and thus a large element of the fish production was removed from the fish ledger. Graph 33 shows that the number of boats fishing for Mouat's personal management in Unst apparently went down from 27 to 13 between 1801 and 1802. Much of this decrease would be due to the transfer of boats to Spence's accounts, but there was a tendency for the number of boats to drop in any case, as the demands of the Navy became more clamant. This 50% drop in the number of boats recorded (remembering that there may have been more not registered in the rentals) cannot, as graphs 21 and 24 show, explain all of the apparent slump. For while it is clear from Graph 24 that the fall in production and sales in 1801-1802 was between 50 and 60%, the decline had begun in 1800-1801 and continued in 1802-1803.

The slump was therefore less serious than at first appears, and the lower productivity of the estate after the tack to Spence merely reflects the production of a smaller estate under Mouat's direct personal management.

This reflects the dangers of relying on abstracts and summaries of data, for the information about Spence's tack is

contained in a small footnote in the ledger that is easily overlooked. It would be possible by reference to the Day-Books to calculate the production of each boat transferred to Spence, and the productivity of the north parish fisheries, but the calculations involved are immense, complicated and would take many weeks to complete.

Another major defect of this data is the inadequate information about prices. Sometimes we have only the price paid to fishermen, sometimes there is a little information about the prices paid to Mouat (which varied from one shipment to another as well as from year to year) and often there is no data on prices at all. Actual production is sometimes given in hundredweights, sometimes in lispunds, sometimes in actual numbers of fish of different ages and species, so the only reliable data is the total receipts to Mouat. A great deal of work remains to be done on data of this kind before we can be at all certain about the detailed fluctuations in the fishing trade of this period.

It is however clear that the 1790's were a period of exceptional growth and prosperity for Thomas Mouat's fishing business, and despite the qualifications to the data he did not do so well in the period from 1800 to 1817.

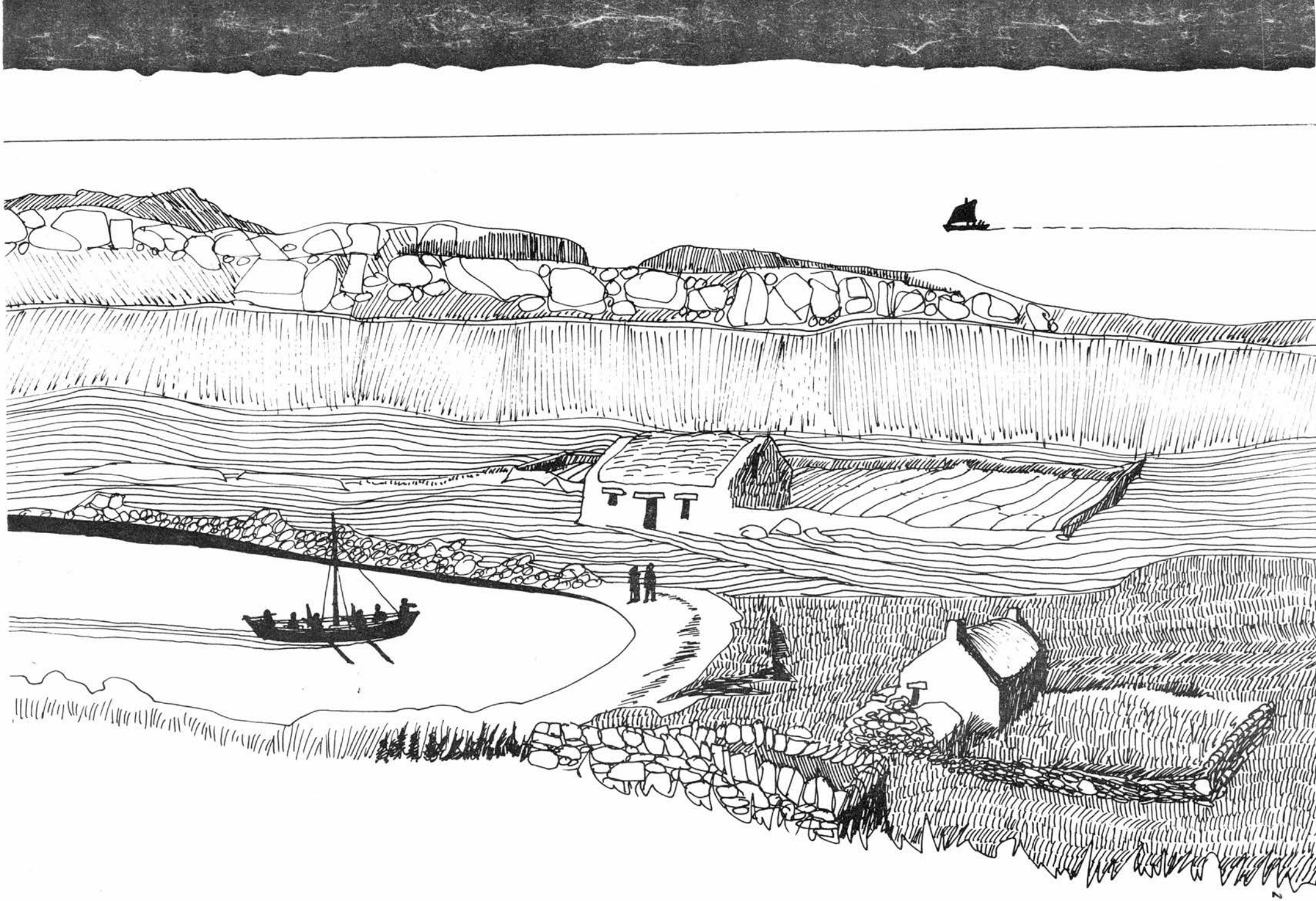
FISH OIL

The production of fish oil would also have been affected by the tack to Spence in 1801, but graphs 29 and 30 show that the major growth in this commodity was after 1808. Annual fluctuations in the proceeds were more marked than for any other commodity produced on the estate and this is reflected in Graph 32 which shows, however, that but for a few isolated years (e.g. 1778, 1783, 1790,

1808 and 1811) when fish proceeds were lower than usual, fish oil usually contributed less than 10% of the Gross Proceeds of "country produce". It is significant that the share of fish oil in the overall total was highest in years when the cod and ling fishing was lower than usual. This was partly because the oil was mainly extracted from the sillocks and piltocks (cole-fish or saithe) that were fished on a separate basis by the individual tenants, and partly because in years when earnings from the main fishery were low there was more stimulus to catch saithe for winter sustenance.

If we assume that the value of oil sold is a reliable index of the amount of saithe landed then it is clear that the 1790's boom did not extend to this part of the fishery. Despite the recorded wide annual fluctuations in fish oil (due in part to the ease with which it could be stored to await more favourable markets) the general level of the catch seems to have remained fairly stable within certain limits. The small upward trend after 1800 may reflect changing price levels.

As with fish, the price and quantity data are deficient and the subject requires further detailed research in the Day-Books.



BOOTH OF MUNESS

JW73

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Chapter 4:4. The Production of Commodities

BUTTER, HIDES AND SKINS ETC.

Graphs 34 - 44

BUTTER RENTS

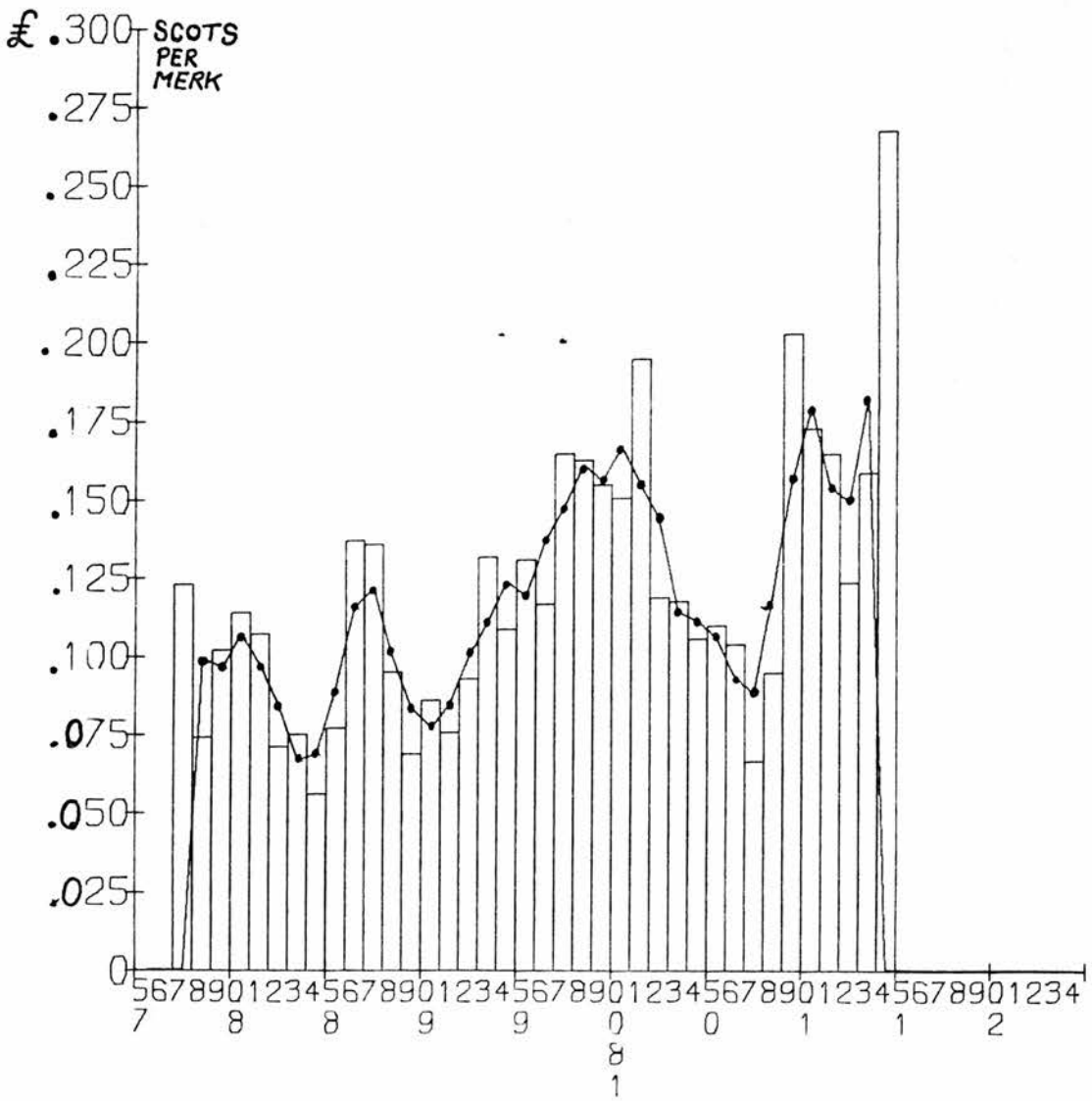
Mean value of BUTTER paid in rent
paid in rent from a sample of Thomas Mouat's
estate, in £Scots per merk of land

(Rent Butter valued at 58d Scots per lispund)

Source; Thomas Mouat's estate ledgers,1777-1814

Bar graph: Crude totals

Line " : 3-year running mean

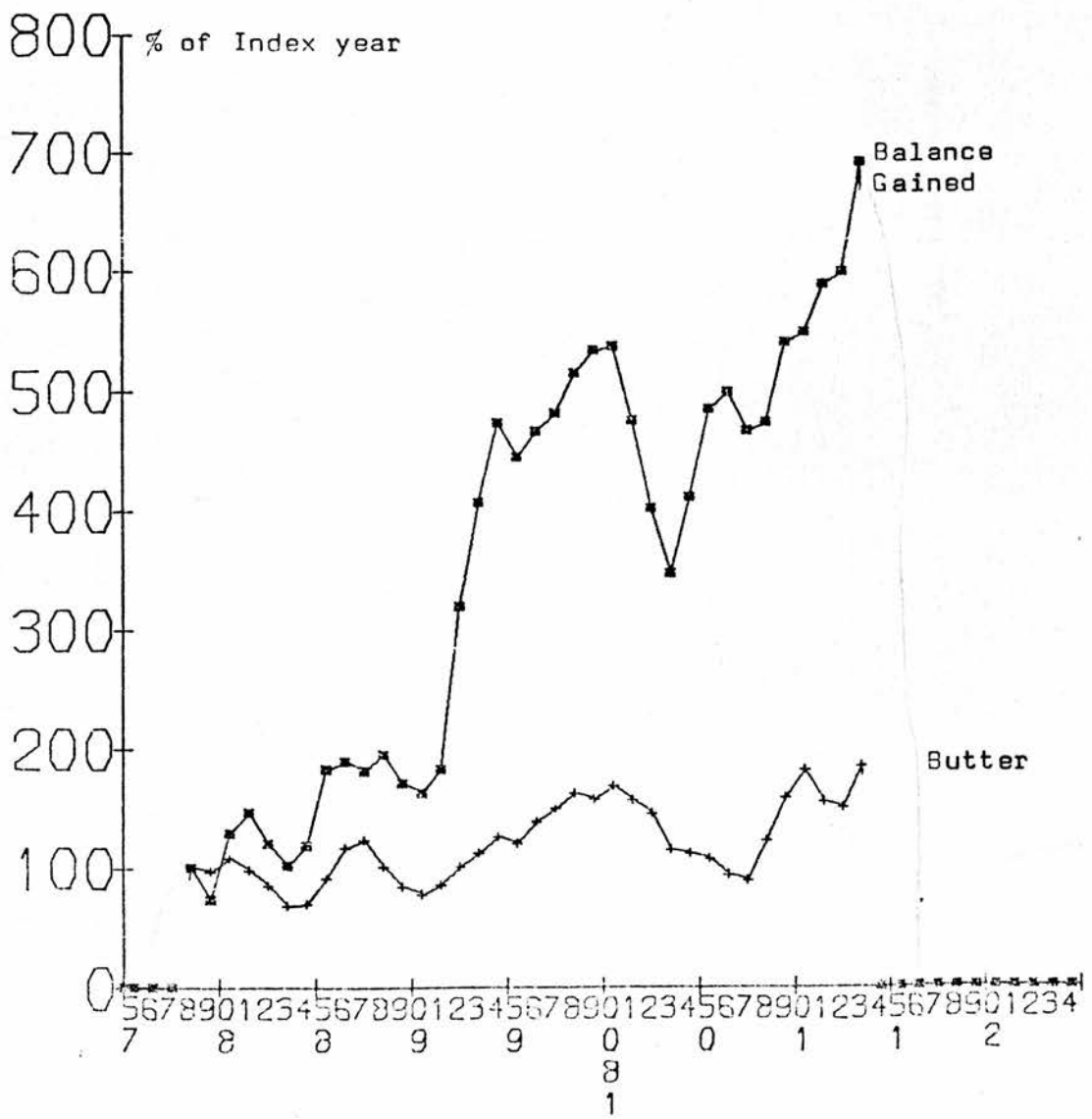


GRAPH 35

* Value of "Balance Gained" (i.e. net profit) from sale of all produce of Thomas Mouat's estate, in £Sterling per merk, as a 3 year running mean.

\+ Value of all Butter paid in rent from Thomas Mouat's estate, in £Scots per merk, as a 3 year running mean.

Index year for both = 1778 = 100

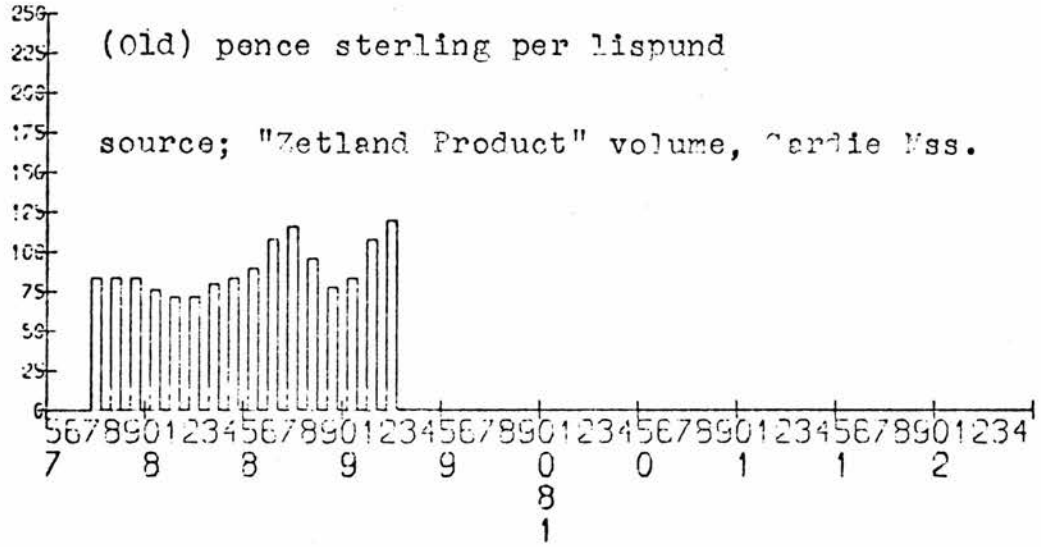


graph 36

Prices obtained for butter
produced from Robert Hunter's lands
set in tack to Thomas Mouat

(Old) pence sterling per lispund

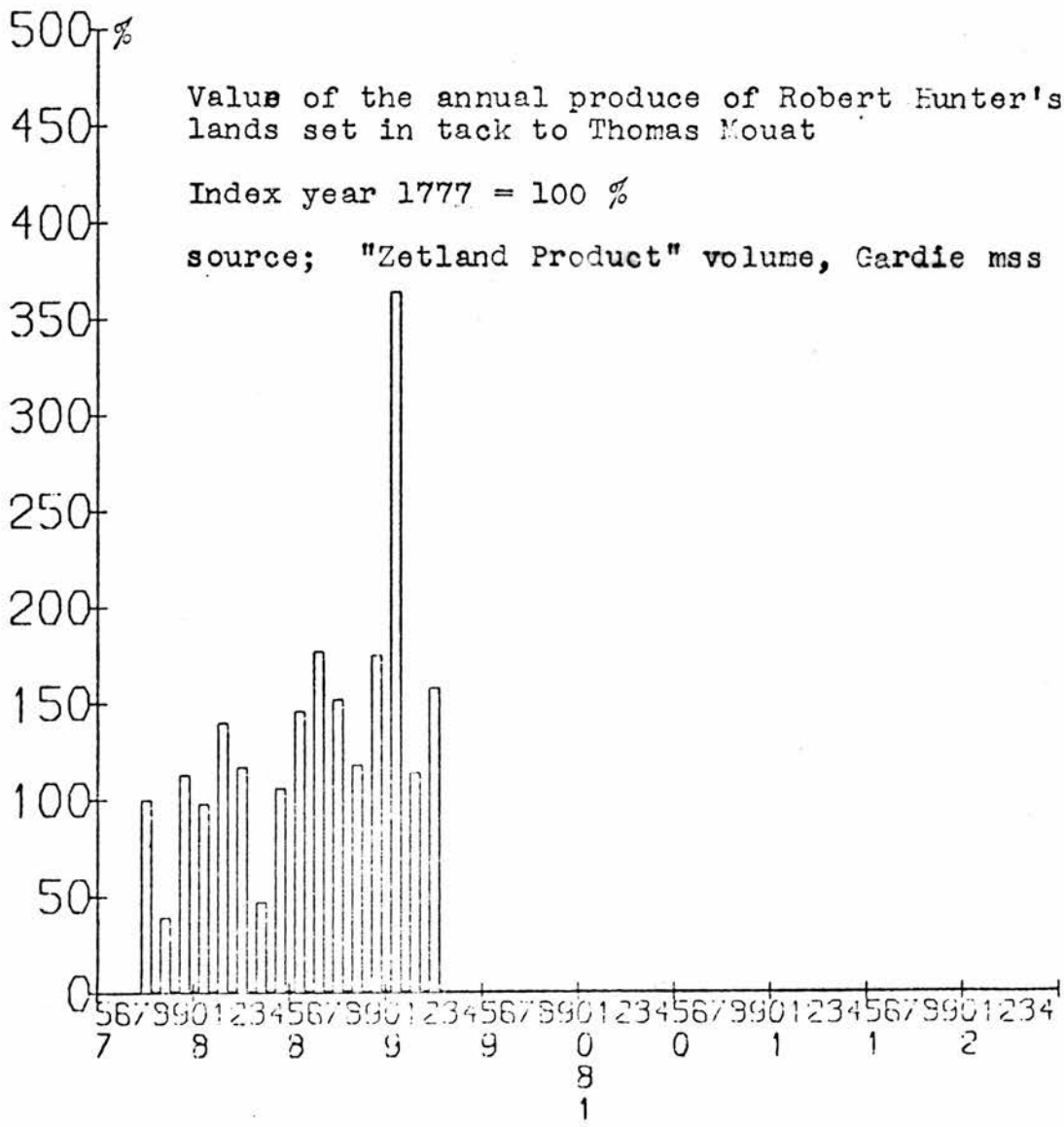
source; "Zetland Product" volume, Gardie Mss.



Value of the annual produce of Robert Hunter's
lands set in tack to Thomas Mouat

Index year 1777 = 100 %

source; "Zetland Product" volume, Gardie mss



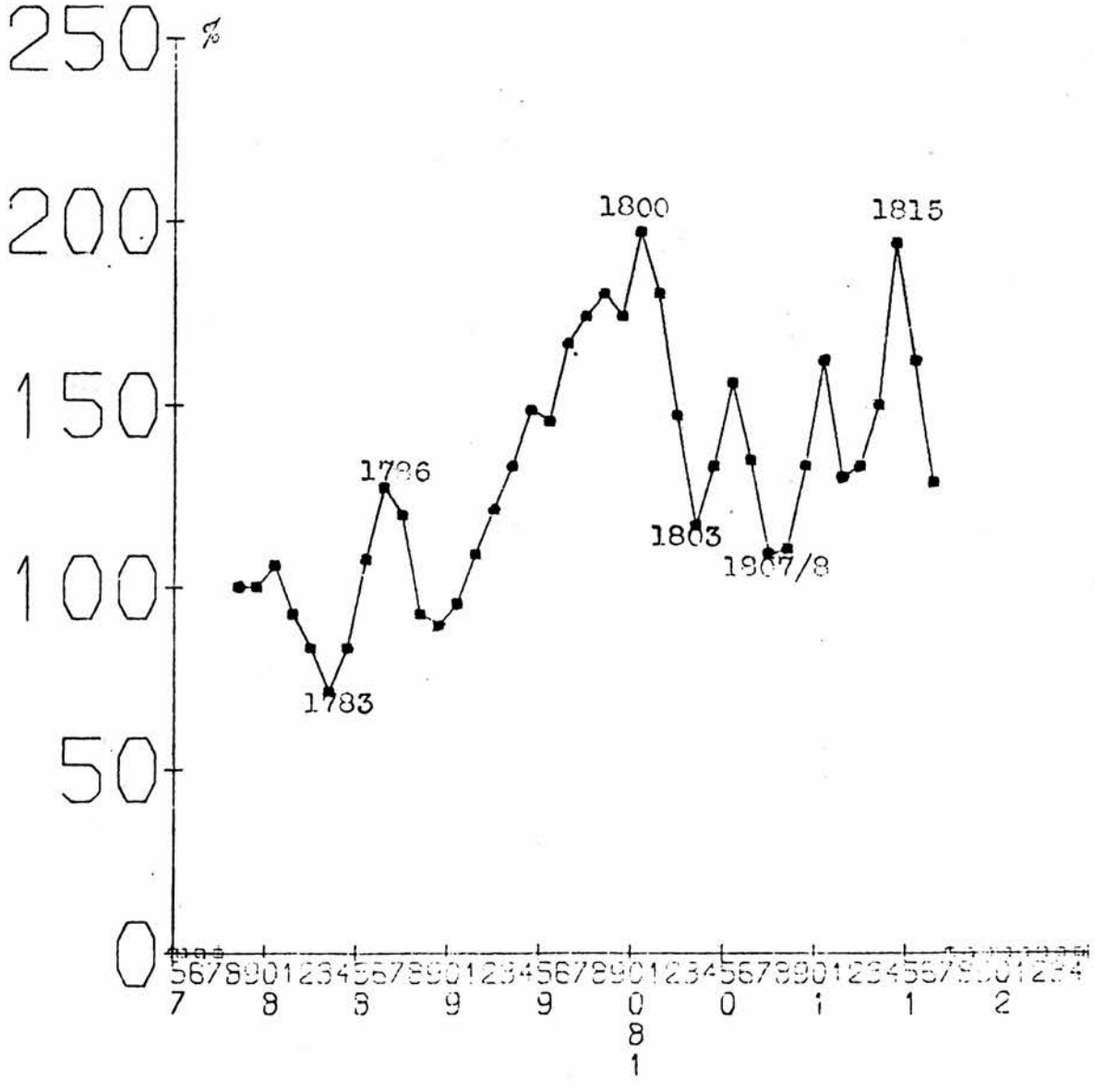
graph 37

Thomas Mouat's proceeds from the sale of

BUTTER

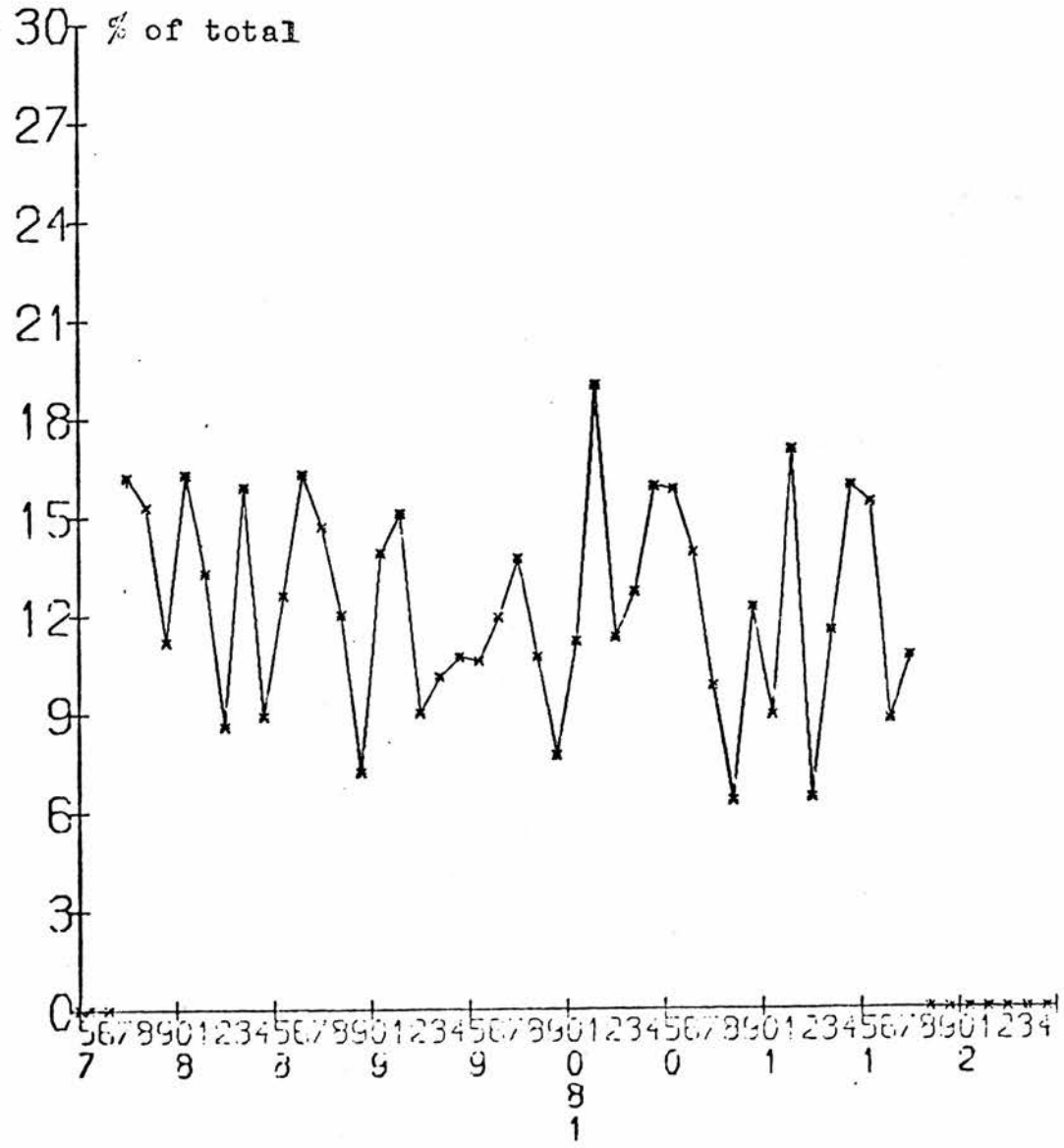
Index year 1778 = 100

3 year running mean



Proceeds from Thomas Mouat's sales of BUTTER
as a percentage of Gross Proceeds from the sale
of "Country Produce" produced by his estate

1777 - 1817 inclusive

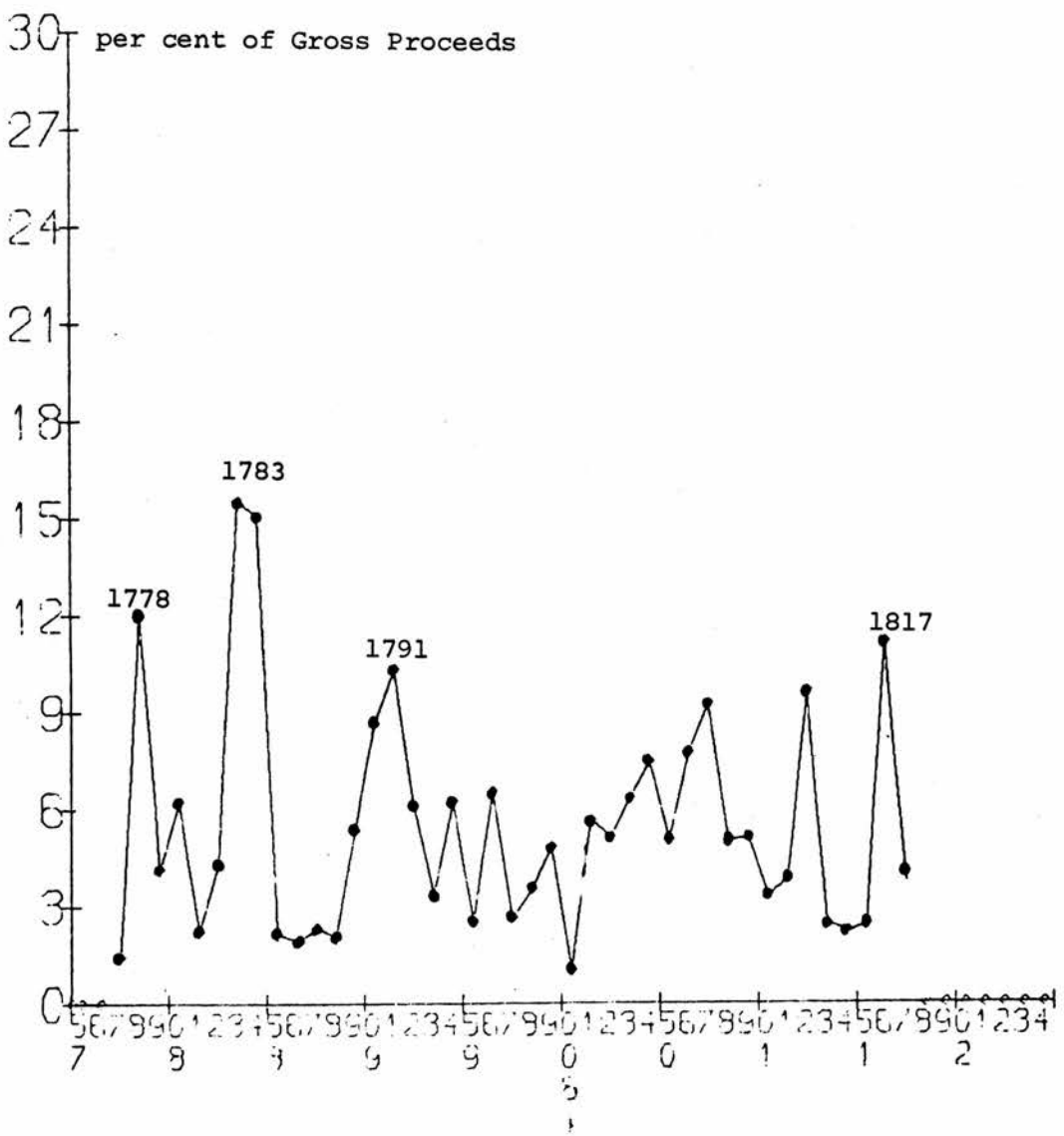


graph 39

Proceeds from Thomas Mouat's sales of

CATTLE HIDES, CALF SKINS, SALTED BEEF AND TALLOW

as a percentage of the Gross Proceeds of
"Country Produce" from his estate

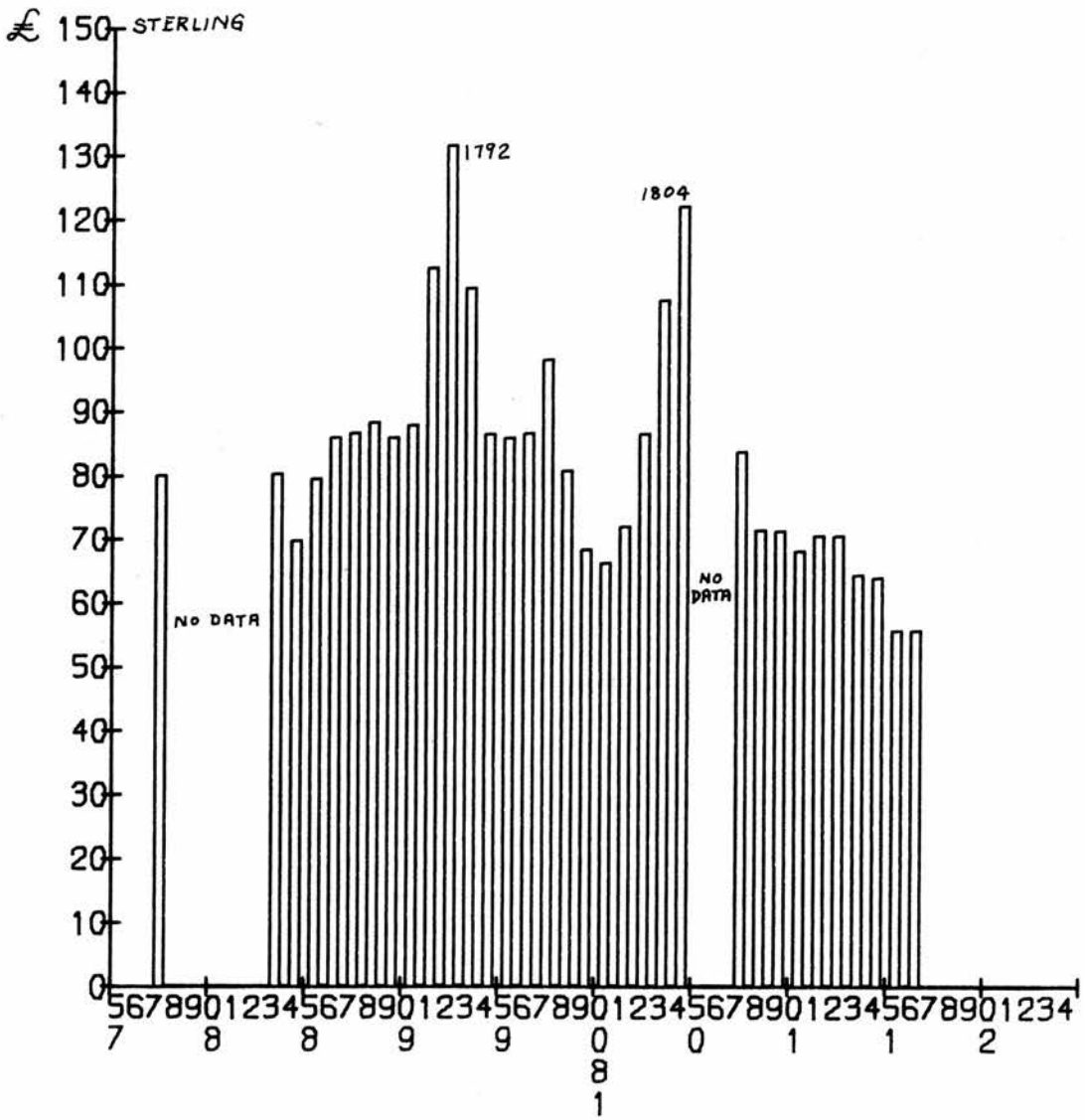


Value of Thomas Mouat's BLACK CATTLE

as inventoried at 31 December each year

in Pounds Sterling

NB It is likely that these figures were only rough estimates.



Number of cattle hides sold by Thomas Mouat

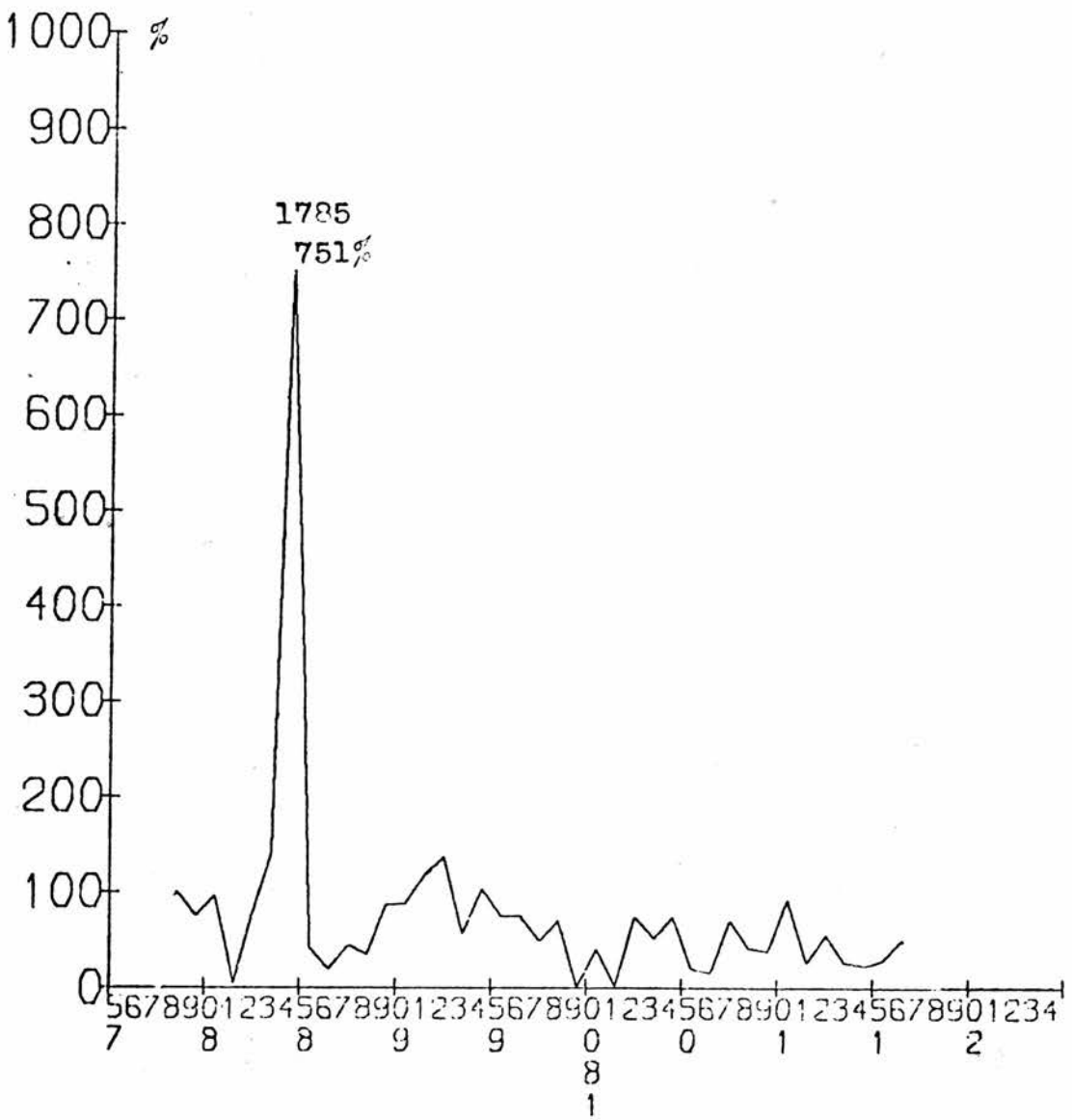
1777 - 1817

Index year 1777 = 100%

source:

Ledgers A & E and "Zetland Product" volume

Gardie Mss

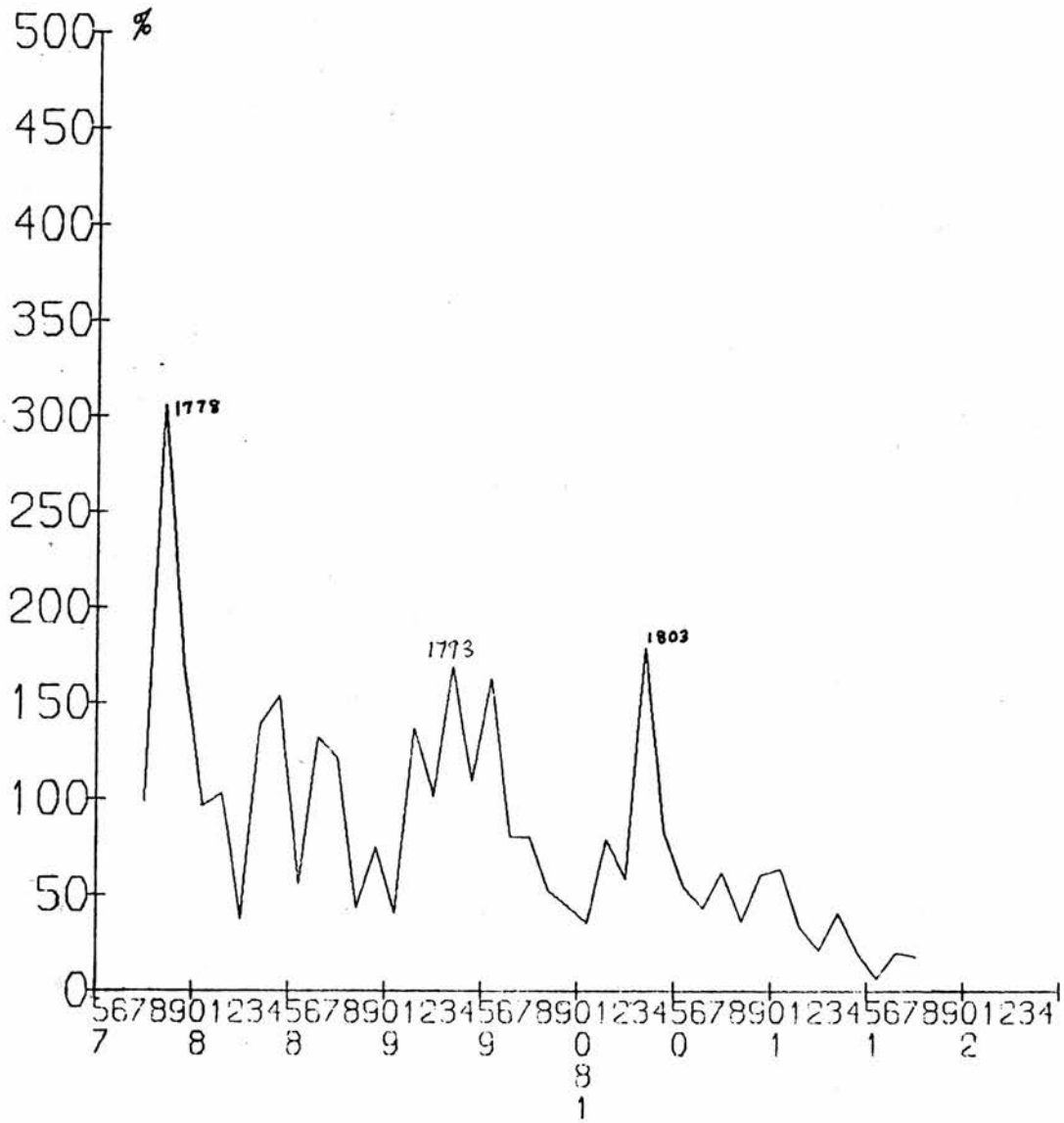


graph 42

Number of calf skins sold by Thomas Mouat

1777 - 1817 Index year 1777 = 100%

source:
Ledgers A & E and "Zetland Product" volume, Gardie Mss



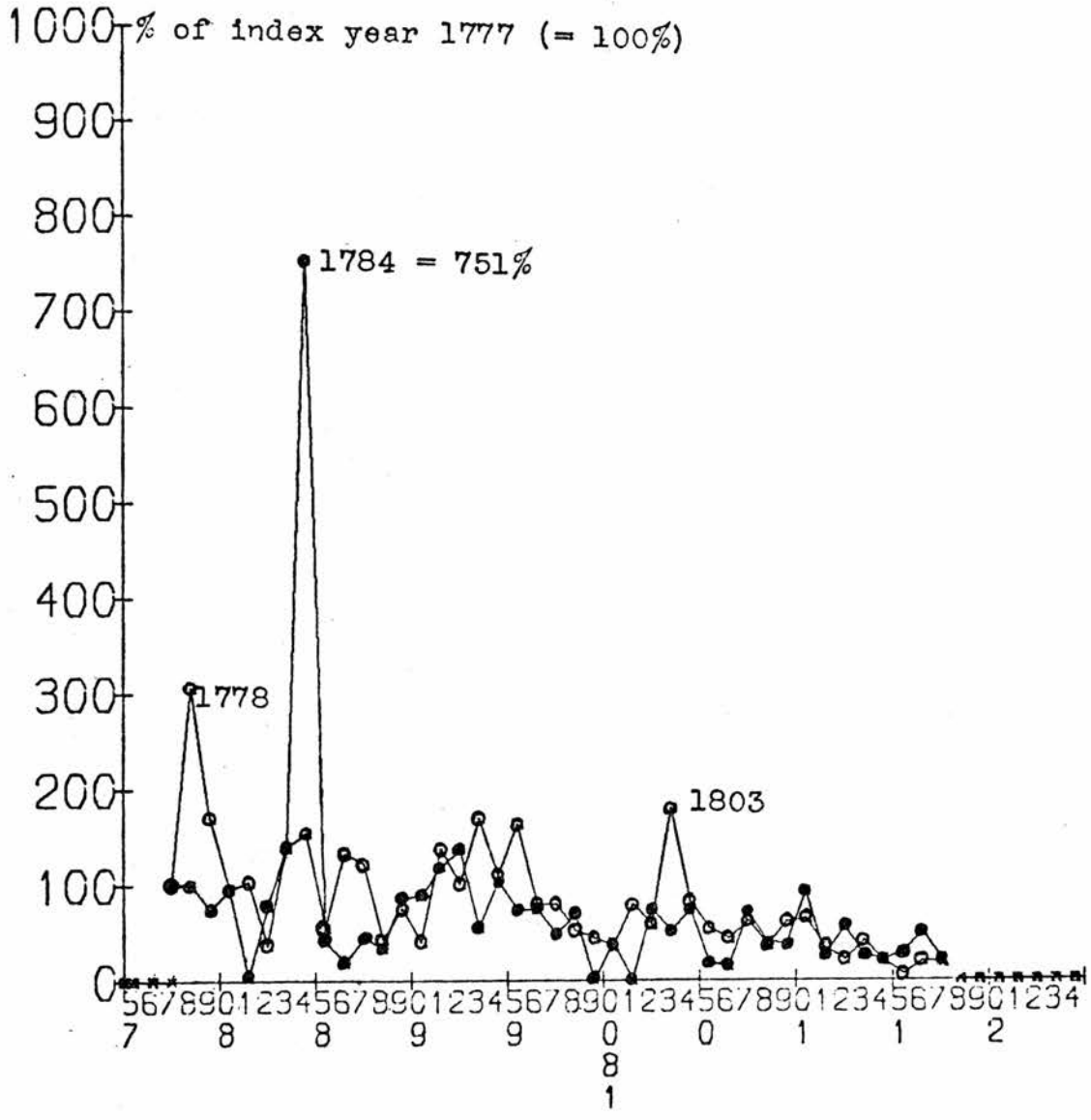
graph 43

● Number of cattle hides sold by Thomas Mouat

o Number of calf skins sold by Thomas Mouat

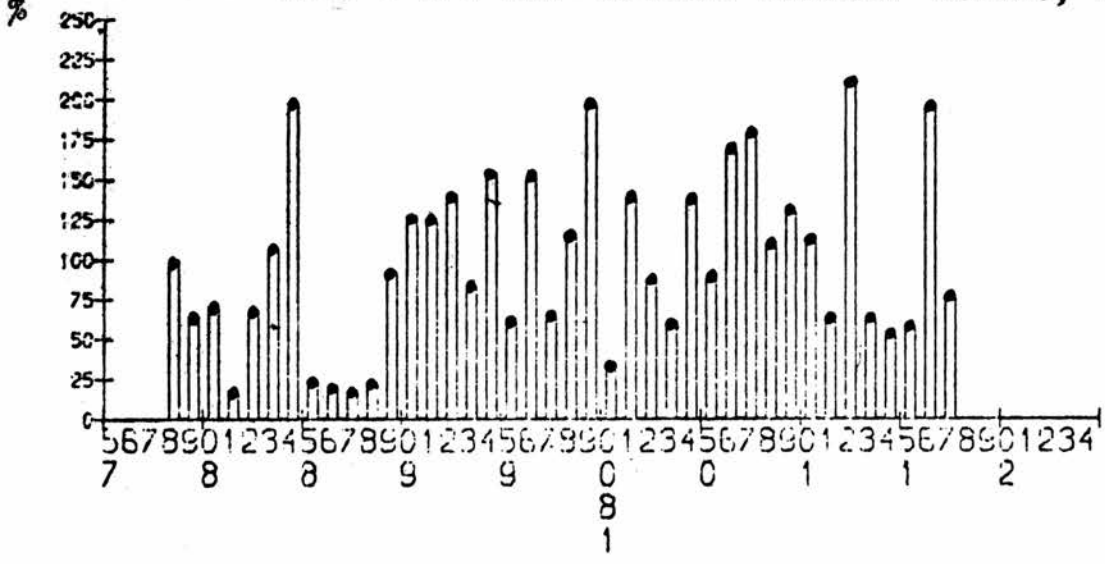
1777 - 1817

Index year 1777 = 100%



graph 44(a)

Proceeds of Thomas Mouat's sales of salt beef & hides 1778 - 1817 Index year 1778 = 100%
source: Ledgers A & E and "Zetland Product" volume, Cardie Mss

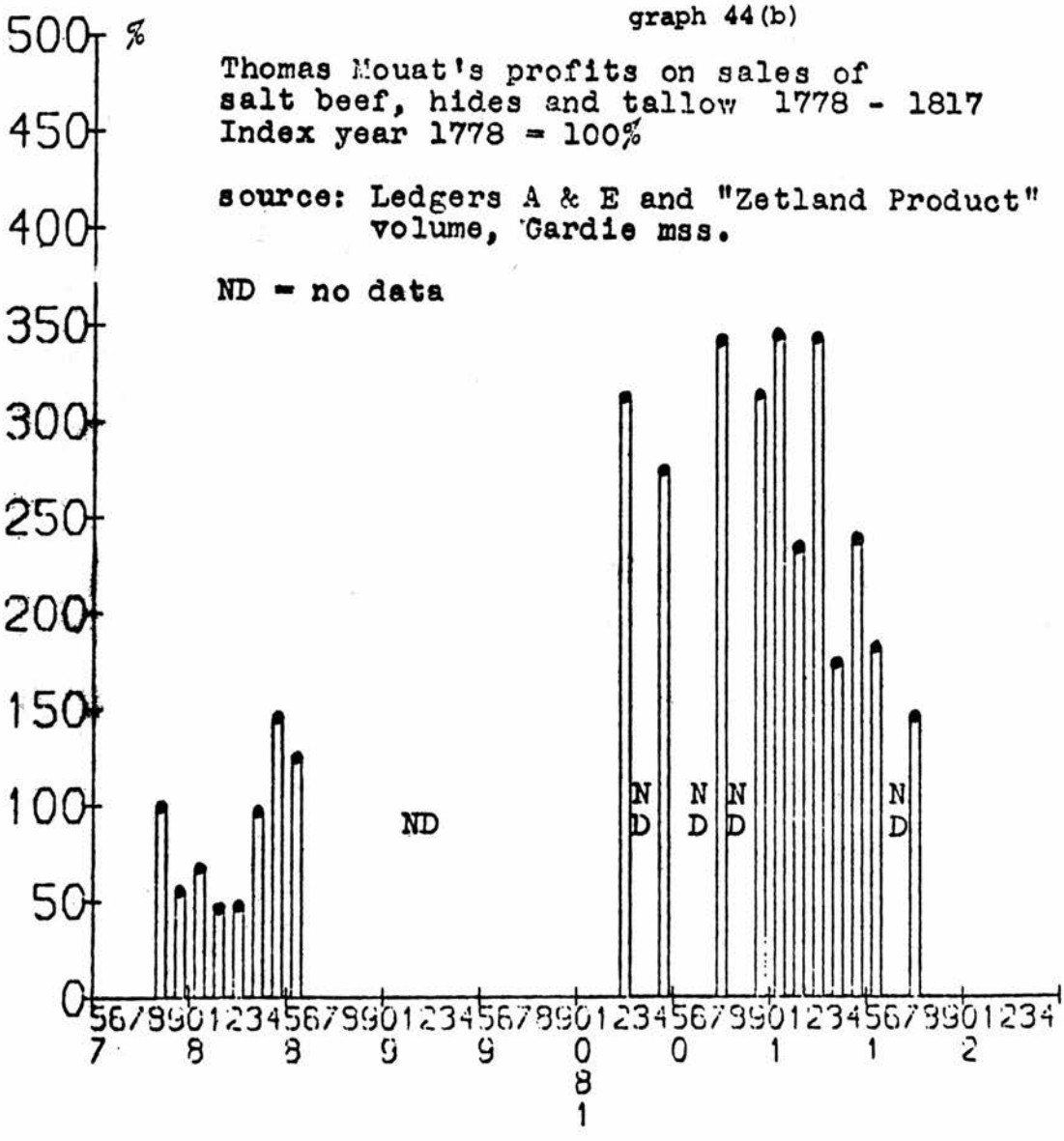


graph 44(b)

Thomas Mouat's profits on sales of salt beef, hides and tallow 1778 - 1817 Index year 1778 = 100%

source: Ledgers A & E and "Zetland Product" volume, Cardie mss.

ND = no data



Chapter 4:4. The Production of Commodities

BUTTER

Similar criticisms can be made for the data on butter production, for price levels are again fragmentary, forcing us to rely on gross income totals for this commodity. The situation was complicated by the fact that lairds sometimes paid their tenants a percentage of the market price and sometimes paid them a traditional "conversion price" though this too varied from year to year and from place to place. The conversion price was originally calculated to convert butter payments to money when a debtor could not produce butter in kind. By the late eighteenth century however it seems to have been usual practice to charge a defaulting tenant the full market value of the missing butter instead of the nominal price. The same often applied to fish oil payments.

The fluctuations in th e sales of butter broadly reflect the trends shown for fish, although on a less pronounced scale. 1782 - 1785 seems to have been a bad period, with production falling about 25% from 1777 levels. Similarly, sales picked up in the late 80's though as graph 36 shows this was partly due to increased market prices. 1789-1791 seems to have been almost as bad as 1782-1785, but there is evidence that butter production also increased sharply in the 1790's, and not all of this can be attributed to price increases, for there is evidence from the Old Statistical Accounts and from correspondence in the Gardie Mss that the 90's really were quite a benign decade, at least in economic terms. The slump in butter sales from 1802 to 1808 may also be connected with the tack of the north parish lands to George Spence, but there is also a suggestion

(Graph 18A) that food prices were actually falling on a national scale at that particular time.

Unlike fish sales, butter appears to have picked up quite well after this depression, and the highest recorded return is in fact for 1814, the last year covered by Thomas Mouat's data. This may reflect the distribution of good grazing in Unst, which tends to be concentrated in the south and east and is less fragmented than in Skaw, Norwick, Haroldswick and Clibberswick in the north parish. One of Thomas Mouat's reasons for farming out the northern part of the estate would have been the difficulty of administering the more fragmented holdings there, but in any case the north was always less productive in general than the south and east of the island where his Muness estate purchases were concentrated.

CATTLE

We have no records of the cows that produced the milk for the tenants' butter, but Graph 40 shows the estimates of the value of Thomas Mouat's own cattle (but not their number). There are however some indications of the effects of dearth on the bovine population, as is seen from Graphs 41 and 42. The numbers of hides and calf skins sold were small, usually 9 or 10 per annum, but there were certain noteworthy fluctuations. The most spectacular being the very high figure for hides in 1785, following the severe winter of 1784-1785, an event that is amply documented in the Statistical Accounts. This figure for "voar-dead hides" (voar = spring) was followed by very low sales as the stocks built up again, and throughout the 1790's sales of hides were fairly constant at or just under the 1778 level. Very few hides seem to have been sold during the

three years at the turn of the century and the sales remained at a low level - about 50% of the 1778 figure - for the rest of the period.

The figures for sales of calf skins show a similar pattern but fluctuations were slightly more pronounced. The problem is to tell which sales were of "voar dead" skins and which sales reflect a genuine increase in production. Scarcity and plenty can sometimes produce similar phenomena in this area. For example the sales of calf skins in 1784 probably represent calves that died in the dearth; it is noticeable that in 1785, the year of glut in cattle hides, there were few calf skins, suggesting that many undernourished cows failed to calve that spring; in 1786 the calf skins were again plentiful, but this cannot be due to rapid recovery of the stocks and must also be attributed to continuing dearth. However one can say with some conviction that the mid-nineties sales figures do represent increased production following recovery from the dearth. (See also Graph 40). The 1803 figure might be attributed to the second dearth, but Graph 40 suggests that Thomas Mouat's cattle stocks (or at least the value of them) were rising between 1801 and 1804, so the reasons for this isolated peak in 1803 remain uncertain. Graph 43 suggests that sales of hides and calf skins seem to have fluctuated in reverse proportion to each other.

Graph 44 shows distinct troughs in Mouat's proceeds from the sale of salt beef and hides - this is a better index of dearth as the carcases of "voar-dead" beasts were unlikely to be saleable. In 1781, 1785-1788, 1800 and 1813-1815 sales were well below average. The graph below this shows, despite some missing data, that profits were on average about 3 times as high after 1801 as before 1786, a fact that can only partially be explained by price inflation.

Cattle were an important item in the local economy, supplying butter, skins, hides, beef and tallow for local consumption as well as export, but the share of cattle products in Thomas Mouat's Gross Proceeds was generally low, varying between 2% and 15% of the total, and was usually about 6%. Highest levels of this share were recorded in the dearth of the early eighties, in the early nineties and immediately after the Wars, lowest returns being in 1777, the late eighties, 1800 and 1812 - 1815.

Chapter 4:4. The Production of Commodities

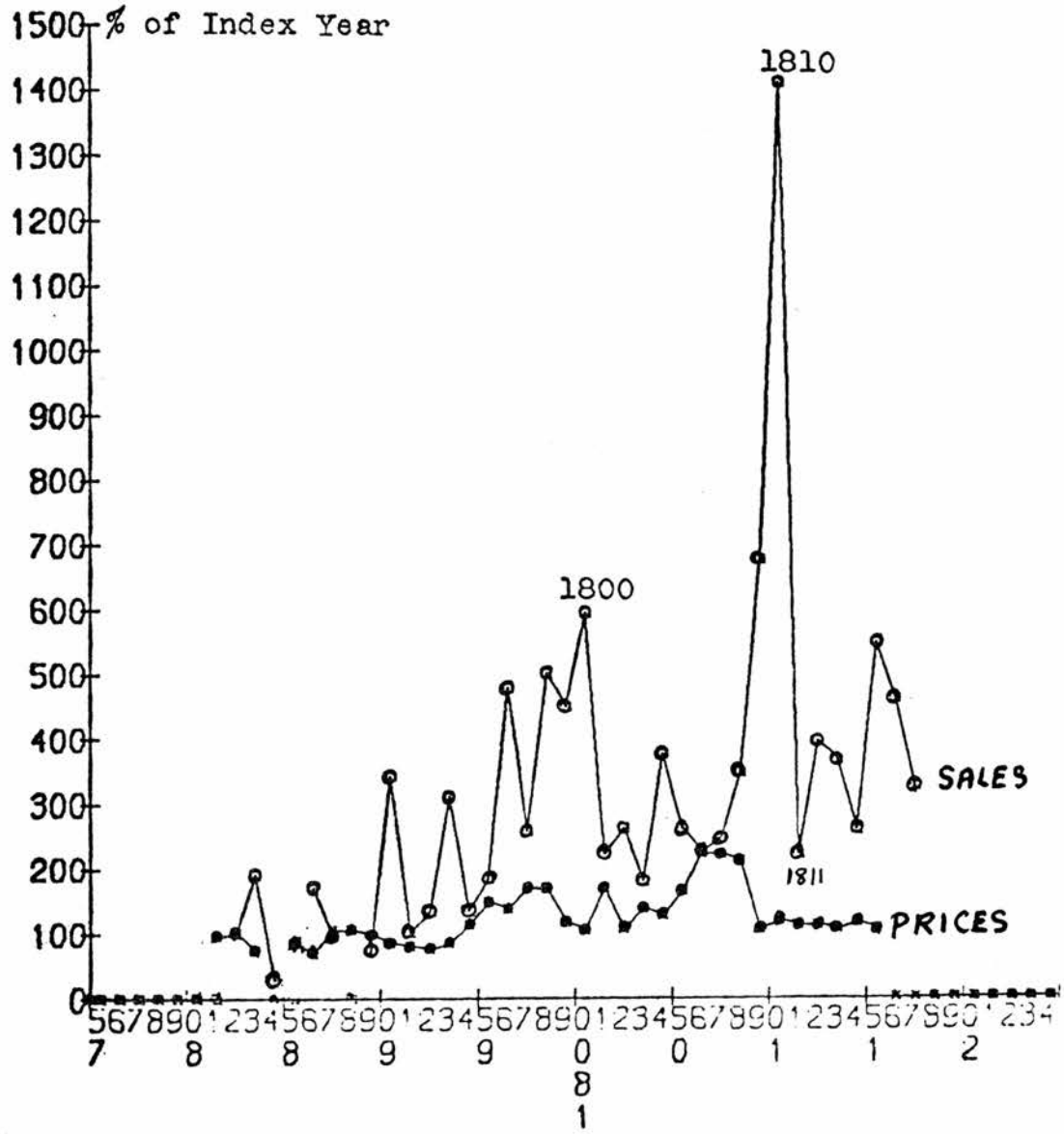
KELP

Graphs 45 - 49

graph 45

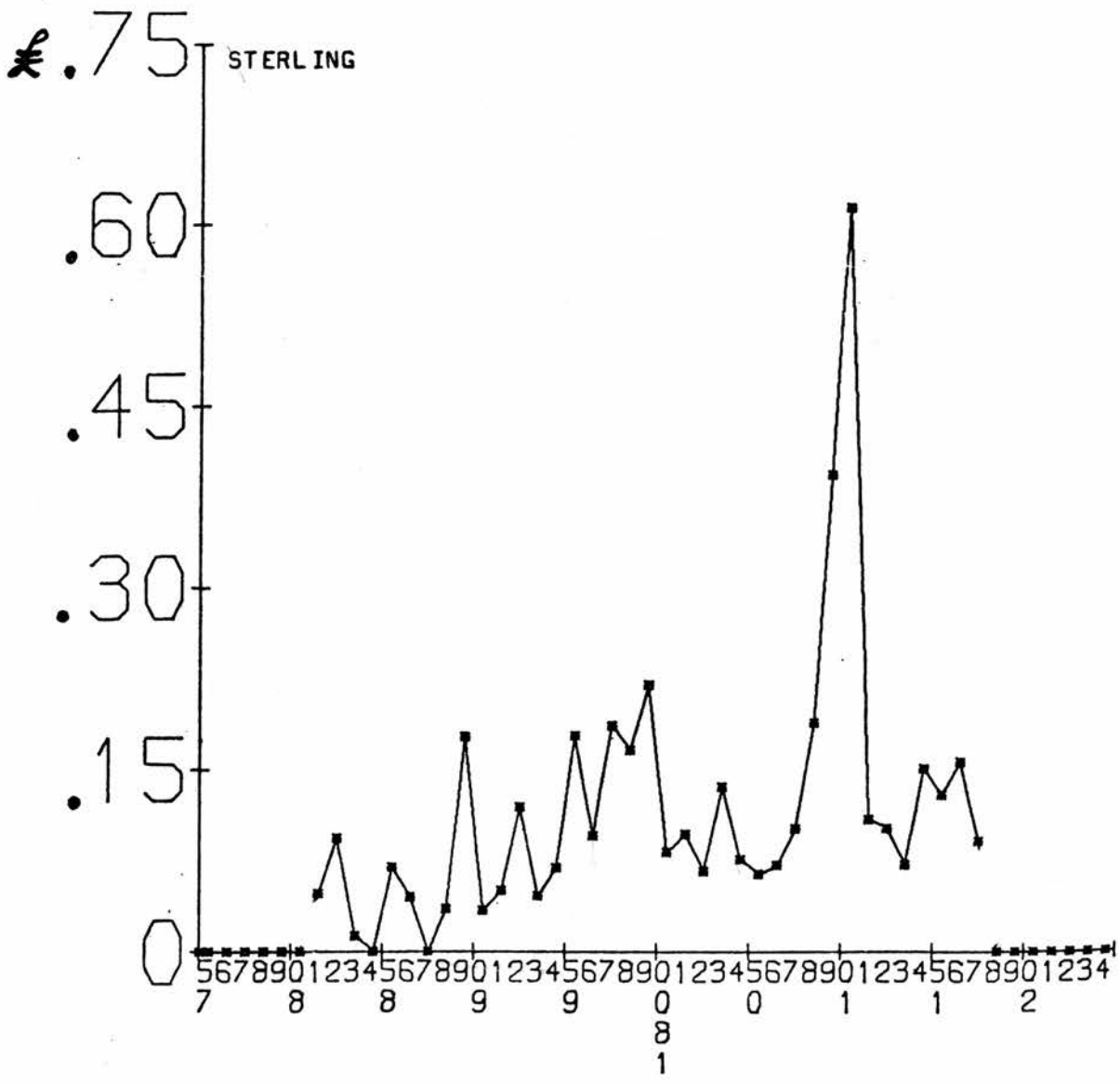
o Thomas Mouat's proceeds from the sale of KELP
Index year 1782 = 100%

● PRICE paid to Thomas Mouat for KELP (per cwt)
Index year 1781 = 100%
(no production figures for 1781, only prices)



graph 46

Proceeds in £ sterling from sale of kelp per merk of Thomas Mouat's estate

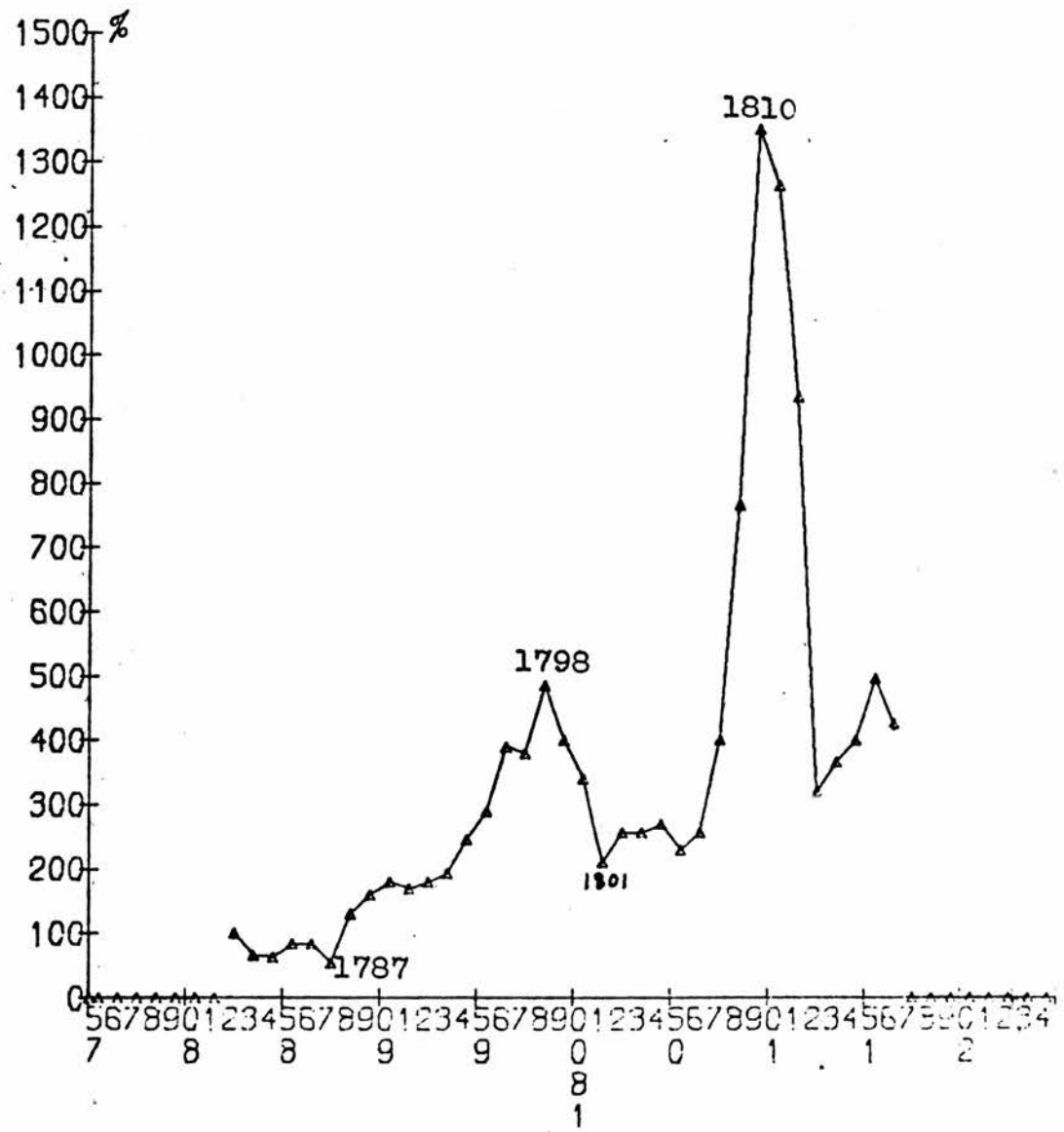


graph 47

Thomas Mouat's proceeds from the sale of KELP

Index year 1782 = 100

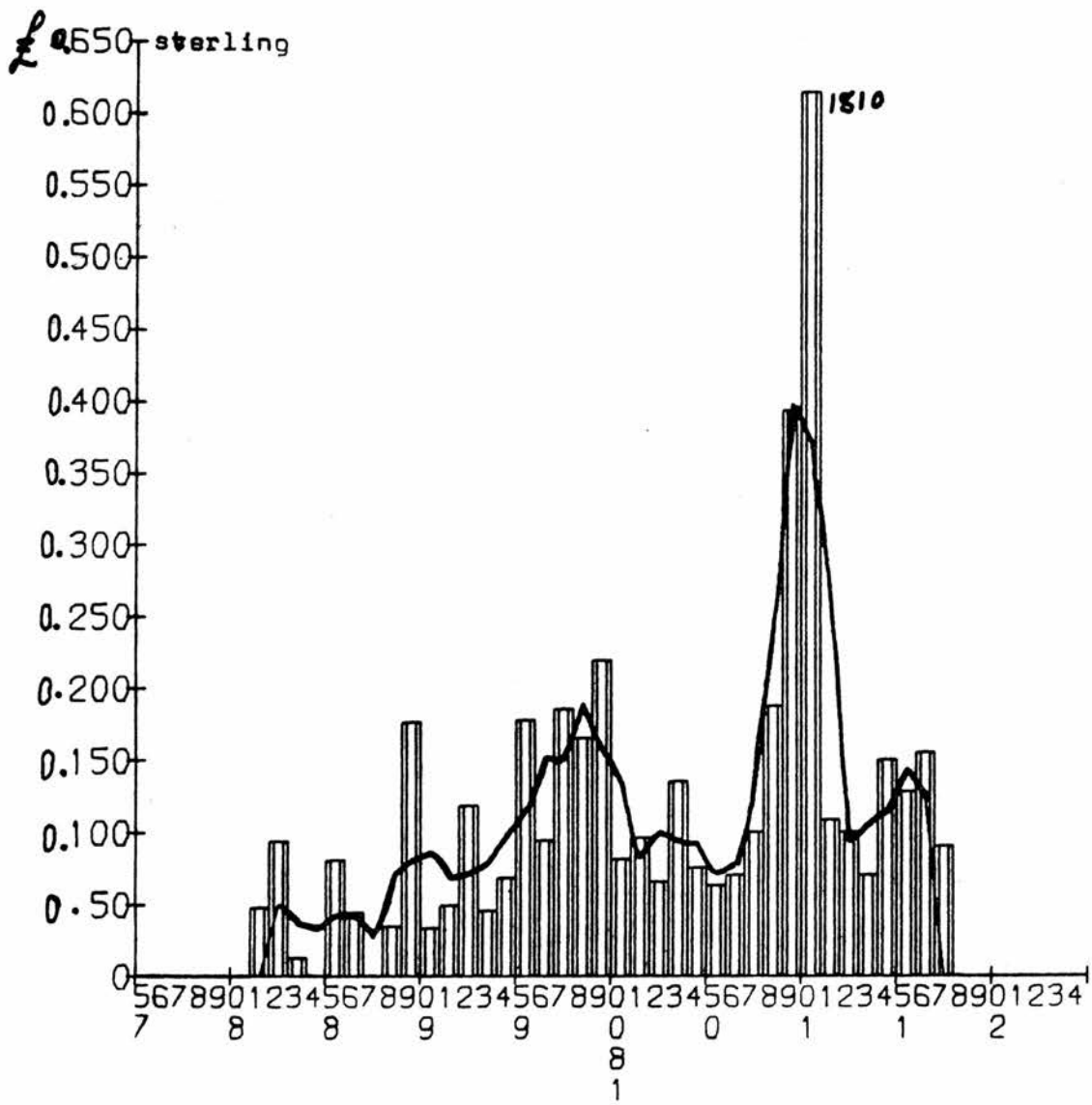
3 year running mean



graph 48

Value of Kelp produced from Thomas Mouat's estate,
in £Sterling per merk

Bar graph = crude data
Line graph = 3 year running mean



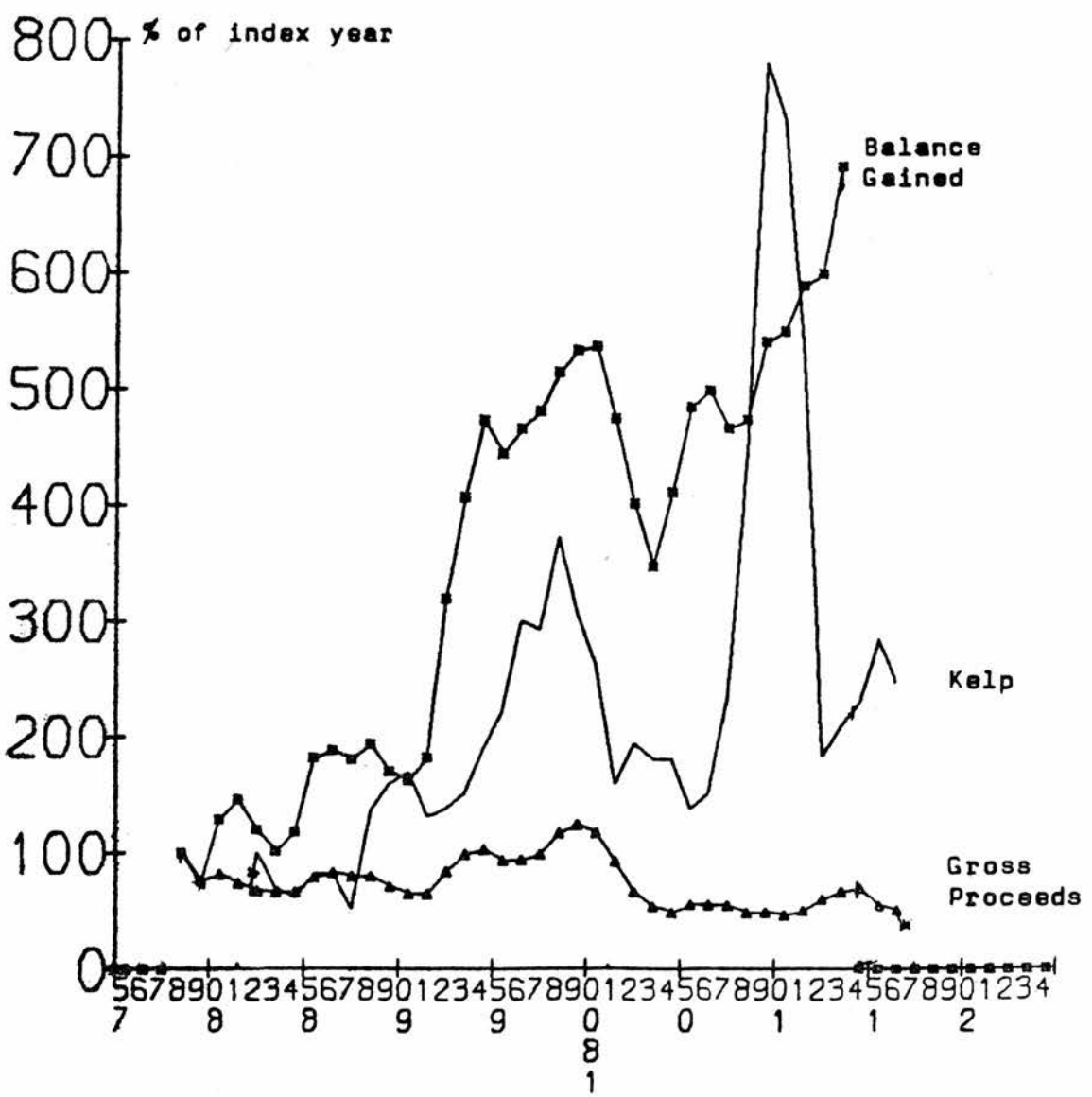
graph 49

—— Annual value of KELP produced per merk of Thomas Mouat's estate.

△ Value of gross proceeds from sale of all estate products, per merk of Thomas Mouat's estate.

✱ Value of "Balance Gained" (i.e. net profit) from sale of all produce of Thomas Mouat's estate, per merk of Thomas Mouat's estate.

All expressed as 3 year running means.
Index year 1778 = 100 for Balance Gained and Proceeds,
1782 = 100 for Kelp.



Chapter 4:4. The Production of Commodities

KELP

Kelp in our period was a new industry in Shetland. It was first made in Shetland at Sumburgh in 1769 and Thomas Mouat tried it first in 1780. By 1800 his kelp production had increased sixfold, although the first 20 years saw very marked annual fluctuations in the small amounts made on Mouat's estate (Graphs 45 and 46). However the 3 year running mean figures show a relatively constant rate of increase in production (Graph 47) to an initial peak in 1798.

The now familiar slump in 1800 - 1803 also occurred in kelp but here the separation of the north parish lands may be less significant for most of Mouat's kelp was made in South Unst, North Yell and the small isles of Bigga, Samphrey, Bruray, Uyea, Linga, Sound Gruney etc. This slump appears to be real enough but it was followed in 1806 - 1812 by seven years during which production increased to nearly fourteen times the 1782 total (in 1810) and then fell to only slightly more than the 1806 figure. This remarkable expansion was followed by another short period of growth.

Fortunately we have some reliable data on the price per cwt paid to Mouat for his kelp (Graph 45). The price was fairly steady until 1795 when for the first time it rose beyond the 1781 level. A sudden fall in prices in 1799, continued through 1800, may have precipitated the sudden cutback in production - in 1801 it was down about 60% on 1800's record total. Graph 45 shows several instances where the production curve follows prices trends a year behind. Between 1804 and 1807 the price of kelp almost doubled - this must have been the stimulus to the extraordinary burst of production in 1808,

1809 and 1810. By the time the 1809 cargo reached the market the price was falling again and in the year of peak production, 1810, it had actually dropped back to just above 1781 levels, where it remained for the rest of this period.

The increased prices of 1804 - 1807 were largely due to the exclusion of the cheaper Spanish substitute, Barilla, during the Iberian blockades and then the Peninsular Campaigns. Kelp was in great demand for use in making paints, dyes, soap and iodine, but as soon as barilla could be imported again the bottom fell out of the market. The significance of the Wars and the supply of barilla has been documented by Dr. Malcolm Gray (1951) and others.

Fortunately for Thomas Mouat his kelping was very much a sideline, albeit a very lucrative one - witness the £126 sterling profit he made in 1808. So he went to great lengths, and quite often as far as the Court of Session, to protect his "kelp shores" which of course he claimed by right of udal possession; like many another feudal Scots laird he found that udal law had its uses as long as it was kept in its rightful place. Mouat took a great interest in the techniques of Kelping (documented in his Statistical Account of Unst) and on one occasion experimented unsuccessfully with a new iron "kelp kiln" sent by a well-meaning Leith merchant who was dissatisfied with the quality of the Shetland product.

Kelp was often useful for offsetting the financial losses that sometimes afflicted the fishing, notably so in 1809 -1810, years of very poor fishings when kelp proceeds actually made up a larger share of the total than fish (Graph 14). These two years when kelp accounted for almost half of Mouat's gross receipts were however exceptional and kelp receipts were more usually between 5 and 15% of the total.

Clearly Mouat was not nearly so dependent on kelp as some of his contemporaries and social superiors on the western coast and isles of Scotland. His own largest production in one year was only 60 tons for as he explained in the Statistical Account;

"The bays are, in general, too shallow, and the shores too much exposed to the ocean, to afford any quantity of seaweed for this purpose."

The average annual production of kelp in Unst in the eighties was only

" ... about 10 tons, the present value £4 per ton ... the expense of making runs from 40/- to 55/- per ton, according as the shores are of easy, or of difficult, access."

(Ibid)

Although it never regained the exceptional peaks of 1809 and 1810 kelp was to remain a small but important industry for many years into the nineteenth century. The tradition of gathering seaweeds for manuring is of course very ancient and although kelp is no longer made in Shetland there are still a few places in Unst where weed is gathered for compost (1975).

Chapter 4:4. The Production of Commodities

SOME COINCIDENCES AND CORRELATIONS

Chapter 4:4. The Production of Commodities

SOME COINCIDENCES AND CORRELATIONS

If we plot kelp, butter and fish production together (Graphs 17 and 18) it is clear that there was considerable co-variation in the sums yielded by each. Part of this must be explained by the effect of general price inflation (including the price of money) on all three. All three were affected also by the vagaries of the southern markets and the cost of freight. Labour supply was a fourth influence on the production of all three; fishing was exclusively a male preserve yet the women were mainly responsible for looking after the cattle and making butter. Kelping was done, at the harvesting stage at least, by children, women and a few men not engaged in the summer fishing. This division of labour is well illustrated in the contemporary literature, but what concerns us here is the role of labour supply in the co-variation of production. It seems likely that the level and quality of sustenance for all productive workers - men, women and children nearly all being in that category in one way or another - was crucial in determining the number of people the laird could get out to work and the amount of work his overseers and tacksmen could get out of them. This question is discussed in greater detail in chapter 6 below.

What is clear from this discussion of the estate and its produce is that the economy of Shetland in the eighteenth century - although precarious for tenant and minor laird alike - was quite diverse and highly organised. In no sense can it be regarded as strictly isolated and feudal; its geographical position gave rise to unique arrangements for the exchange of goods and even in 1700 (and before) the Shetland economy was very closely integrated with the trade of North Western Europe and Great Britain.

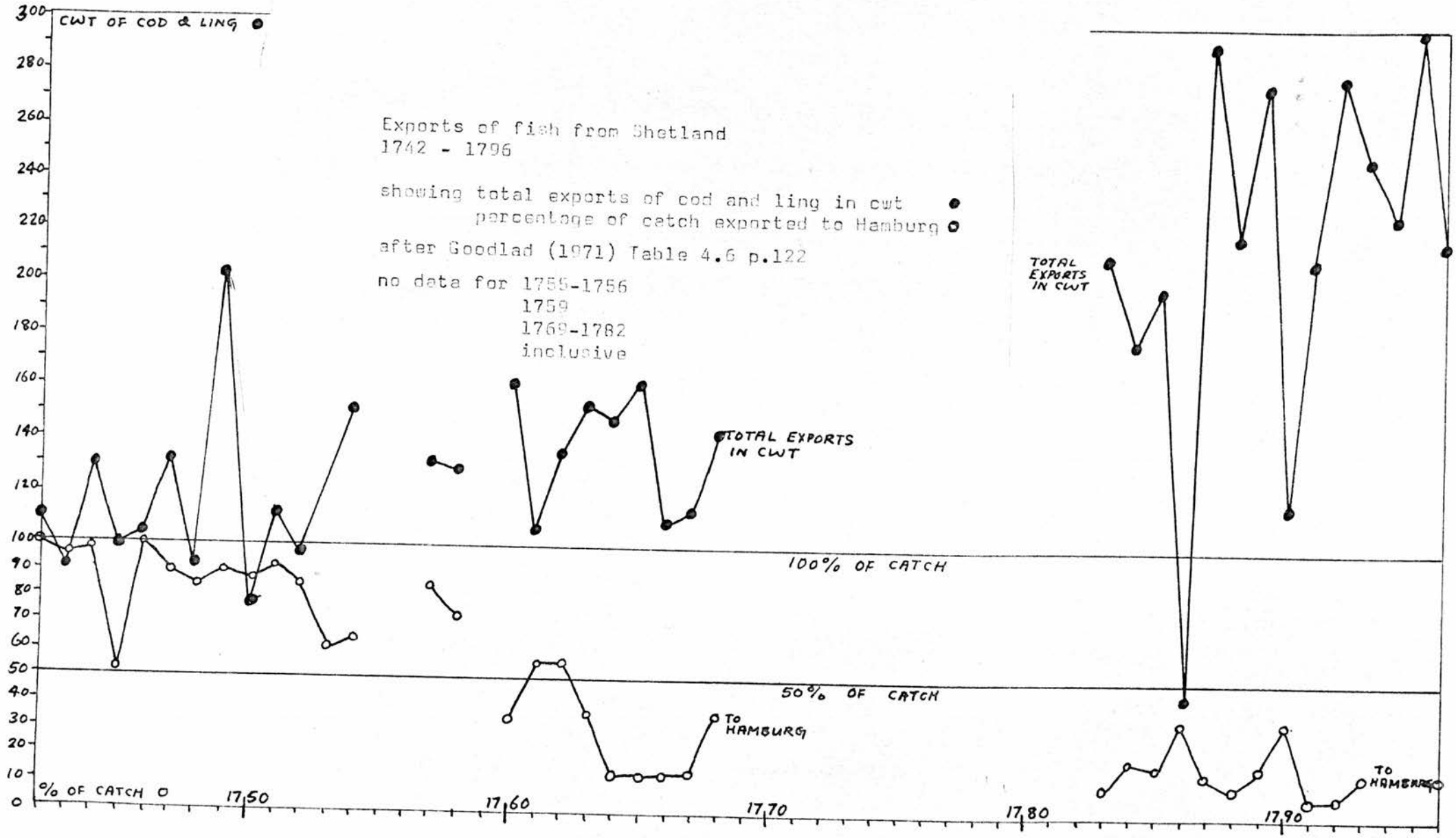
The major change in the Shetland economy during the eighteenth century was, as mentioned above, the switch from the former Hanseatic German trade nexus to the Scottish metropolitan economy - in simple terms a change of course to Leith instead of Hamburg.

After the lairds' links with German merchants weakened and they began to trade through Scottish merchant houses (see Smith, H.D. - 1973), the "Hamburg connexion" steadily declined. Dr. Goodlad's figures show that whereas in the 1740's almost all of Shetland's fish exports went through Hamburg, and 70% as late as 1768, by 1783 only 10% went in that direction (Graph 50). In bad fishing seasons the Hamburg consignments seem to have remained steadier than the others, for example in 1786 and 1790 the Hamburg cargoes rose to about a third of the total, but in 1794 there were no shipments there at all. Throughout the War years after 1793 the Hamburg trade very rarely exceeded 5 or 7% of the whole, but an interesting sidelight on the persistence of the trade comes from a letter written by John Byrne, a Dublin merchant based in Bordeaux, to John Mouat on 22 September 1799;

"During the war your products chiefly come by way of Hamburg, where they are stamp't with a mark, and shipp't for neutral account and as goods manufactured in Switzerland or any other neutral country. There is plenty of merchants in Hamburg, Altona and elsewhere, who do the needful in this respect, on allowing them the usual commission of 2% for their trouble - this for your government."

(No. 1,512)

Napoleon's Berlin Decree of November 1806 may have put a stop to this system - British exports to Hamburg and Bremen had actually increased sixfold between 1789 and 1800, an indication of the failure of the earlier phase of the French economic offensive. (Watson, 1960, 463-475) The Hamburg connexion was almost certainly severed by the Milan Decree a year later and did not revive after 1815 - not, in fact, until the great herring boom at the end of the nineteenth century.


CWT OF COD & LING
300
280
260
240
220
200
180
160
140
120
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
% OF CATCH
1750
1760
1770
1780
1790
Exports of fish from Shetland
1742 - 1796
showing total exports of cod and ling in cwt
percentage of catch exported to Hamburg
after Goodlad (1971) Table 4.6 p.122
no data for 1755-1756
1759
1769-1782
inclusive
TOTAL EXPORTS IN CWT
100% OF CATCH
50% OF CATCH
TO HAMBURG
TOTAL EXPORTS IN CWT
TO HAMBURG

Graph 50

POSTCRIPT

Asaa postcript to this chapter on the estate and its produce we now consider two aspects of Shetland life that must be understood in order to appreciate the atmosphere of daily life as a tenant of Thomas Mouat - the problems of food storage and the "Yaugers" - a kind of economic guerrilla band.

Chapter 4:5. The Problem of Storage

In the eighteenth century, as now, the main problem facing the farmers and the fishermen in Shetland was how to store abundance for use in times of scarcity; in an economy where both production and sales were markedly seasonal, many ingenious (and laborious) methods of storage were devised.

Fish was almost invariably dried; most was soaked in brine and sun-dried on pebble beaches. This was a wearisome process, which has been well described elsewhere, notably by Thomas Mouat himself. As a process it was very vulnerable to shortages of labour, and to unpredictable weather, for the fish had to be turned frequently, taken in and stacked whenever it rained and at night; the beaches themselves were often man-made or man-improved. The process was only made possible by the long summer hours of daylight, and a cloudy, stormy summer disrupted both fish processing and fish catching.

Most of this cured fish was exported at the end of the summer, but some was stored in pickle over the winter, together with dried "stock fish", in small warehouses like that at Muness. The amount overwintered depended on the state of the seasons, the markets, and of course, the fish. A smaller quantity of fish was dried by the wind, some salted some not. This process involved the construction of "skeos" - thatched stone huts built with gaps between the stones to let the wind through to the fish hanging inside. ~~(Fig)~~ This method of storage was also used to preserve salted and unsalted beef and mutton, but there was never enough capital or initiative to construct enough skeos to handle any more than a small quantity of the total fish catch. In any case, the sun-dried fish,if properly cured, were preferred in most markets.

These two processes were applied mainly to the ling, cod and tusk caught for the lairds in the summer. In the winter a quite different fishery, uncontrolled by the lairds, was carried out from the rocky shores or from small boats working close inshore. This was for cole fish - locally called "piltocks" when half-grown and "sillocks" when, as very small fish, they shoaled around the coasts in winter and spring. In these months they often formed the staple diet of the people when the cereals ran out, and in most years they were to be found in such numbers and caught with such ease that the simplest method of storage was simply to leave them in the sea until required. Large quantities were nonetheless salted and dried for local consumption. The fish were so numerous that (as Dr. Kemp noted with horror) they were sometimes fed to the cattle in the early months of the year.

These small fish were the source of much of the fish liver oil produced by the tenants. Although the production of the oil was not controlled by the lairds, many rent, teind and other payments were paid in it. Complaints about its quality were frequent but as long as teinds and rents were part paid in oil there was little hope of improvement. A great deal of the oil was used for domestic lighting in home-made "kollie lamps".

It is difficult to estimate total fish oil production as so much was used locally by the tenants and had no contact with the lairds. The only index available is the amount sold by Thomas Mouat each year - which probably corresponds to the amount he bought and received from the tenants, for his own household consumption was insignificant in the total.

Quality control was also an issue in the production of wool and butter; in a fit of enthusiasm in 1779 Thomas Mouat appointed himself as "stocking stamper" for Unst in an attempt to improve the

quality of the coarse woollen socks knitted by the womenfolk for sale to foreign fishermen. There is no evidence that this had the slightest effect. The butter rendered for payments in kind was of such low quality that it could only be used for grease, and the art of cheese-making seems to have been lost during the first half of the eighteenth century. Menteith mentioned the making of good local cheeses in 1684, but the increased consumption of butter, through the distortions of the lispund in the early eighteenth century, seems to have left the tenants with little surplus milk for making cheese. In 1805 Patrick Neill visited the isle of Noss, and noted that it

"is chiefly pasture, and in general good pasture. Here we are presented with the best milk and butter we had seen in Shetland. Mr. Copland the tacksman complained that a prejudice existed against Shetland butter, which prevented him from exporting it to Leith and other ports of the south. This prejudice arises from table-butter being confused with grease-butter, which however are two entirely different articles of Shetland produce. The prejudice is quite unfounded; for the table-butter of Noss island would stand a comparison with any butter made in the Lothians. The milch cows, however, are here of rather a diminutive size, and yield but a small quantity of milk."
(Neill, 1806, 84) (My emphasis)

Because of transport difficulties the export of this fine table butter would not have been practicable so in all probability the grease-butter was deliberately manufactured as such rather than being the good stuff that had gone off.

JW78

Chapter 4:6. The "Yaugers" - evasion and sabotage

The tenant who wished to thwart his landlord's scheme had other weapons besides inferior produce; he could sell his produce, and often his better produce, on the side to clandestine merchants or "yaugers";

It was Patrick Neil[1], alone of the lairds' critics, who perceived the wider economic potential of these "parasites" on the estates;

"The landlords, we are told, are the exporters of the produce of their own estates. They are not, it would appear however, compelled to be so; for they complain bitterly of what they call "yaggers" i.e. pedlars, who surreptitiously pass through the islands, and, by giving a much higher price than the lairds, obtain the best articles of produce from the little farmers! It is evident that these yaggers must find their profit in this traffic; and it is equally evident that yaggers of a higher order, or travelling merchants, would regularly visit Shetland, and relieve the lairds of the trouble of exporting the produce of their own estates."

(Neil[1], 1806) (My emphasis)

Some of the more prosperous "free" tenants and udallers in Unst were in the habit of fitting out boats as if for the fishing, and then buying up for cash (and/or tobacco, spirits, etc.) a portion of the catch as the fishermen brought it over the side at the "far haaf" fishing grounds. They then returned secretly to the shore, at night, or went back with the other boats and landed the fish as if they had caught it themselves.

One of the most persistent yaugers was an impudent fellow called George Spence who, according to Thomas Arthurson, had

"Followed yauging from the year 1760 or earlier and had continued it to the year 1802 and by the trade really in that time made himself in some degree independent."

(No. 2,157. 1814)

Nor was Spence the only one, for it was his complaint about the yauging of one of Mouat's tenants that occasioned the comment from Arthurson, who saw no reason for Spence to complain when others merely

followed his example.

Yauging was a major loophole in the fishing tenure system, yet we have little factual information about it beyond vague statements that, for example,

"those who allow most to the fishers, are the greatest gainers, as they are by that means induced to keep all their fish for their masters ... "
(Fea, 1775, 2)

or that

"several individuals fit out boats merely to cover the clandestine purchase of fish from the regular fishing tenants."
(Edmondston, 1809, I,245)

It is intriguing that Spence started yauging around 1760, at a time when the fishermen were exploiting new grounds much further offshore than previously. (Goodlad 1971). It was impossible for the laird or his factor to detect deals nearly 40 miles from shore, and the involvement of most fishing boats to a greater or lesser degree imposed mutual obligations of discretion on most of the fishermen. There is no record at Gardie of a tenant ever being warned or prosecuted for selling fish to yaugers. It seems possible that the ease with which the system could be fiddled in this way may account for the scarcity of reports of unrest amongst the fishermen, despite Low's comments in 1774 about their "vast grumblings".

It should not be assumed that the yaugers necessarily gave the fishermen a higher price than the lairds; the crucial difference was the method of payment; the yauger paid in cash or fancy goods or spirits, whereas the laird paid by entering the dictated value of the catch in his ledger towards paying off the tenants' accumulated arrears and the cost of their boats and gear. The lairds knew about and exercised control over nearly all their tenants' income and expenditure, so a secret source of cash or goods was doubly valuable. The yauger might well get away with paying less than the laird, but paying in cash, and then

re-selling the fish to the laird at the same price as the fishers. If the yauger himself was not in debt to the laird he could take his payment in goods from the laird's shop or in cash to purchase goods from Lerwick - which he would then use to buy the next clandestine consignment of fish from the tenants. It was an almost foolproof system, for even if the laird knew a man was a yauger and refused to buy fish from him, the yauger could always sell to the Lerwick merchants. If this theory is correct, yauging must have prospered most when the tenants were in greatest debt to their lairds and in greatest need of cash and goods.

Although the tenants were apparently not prosecuted for dealing with yaugers, attempts were occasionally made in times of dearth to restrict the yaugers themselves. Thus in 1785 Mouat attacked his tenant Donald Winwick, who had a large farm at Hannigarth near Muness on a lifelong lease - a special privilege as Winwick was one of the literate tenants who taught a school during the winter months. The lease had been granted on condition that Winwick did not sell or salt any fish, nor retail merchandise and spirits, but Mouat complained to the Sheriff that there had been frequent breaches of the agreement; on 2nd August 1785 alone Donald Winwick had sold 500 salted and dried tusk and some pickled cod "of his own curing". Mouat demanded eviction and £30 scots compensation, but the outcome of the case is unknown.

"Forestallers" was the term used for those buying livestock and grain, and "yaugers" or "yaggers" for those specialising in fish.

Since the seventeenth century and before, the Scots lairds in Shetland had been troubled by pedlars and chapmen who went around buying up agricultural produce before they could get their hands on it. The edicts of the early seventeenth century Scalloway courts forbade the activities of "forstalleris and chapmen" and the lairds were still trying to enforce those particular County Acts in the late eighteenth century.

In 1761 Andrew Bruce of Urie in Fetlar wrote to his son-in-law William Mouat complaining that the onset of great scarcity had been accompanied by the arrival of forestallers outbidding the lairds for their tenants' cattle. (No. 813).

There is some evidence that the lairds' only defence against yaugers was to give in to some of the tenants demands; for as Thomas Leisk himself explained to William Mouat in 1811,

"It is necessary to have a sufficient store of those things which the fishermen have occasion for ready at the place where they land. That is to say, not only fishing materials, but snuff, spirits, tobacco, etc. ... it is one of the best ways of providing against the effects of yauging to allow the men the highest price for fish to the extent of their stores and family necessaries and of what ready cash they may want, by which means they are under no temptation to deal with the yaugers."
(No. 1,962)

William Mouat queried whether this might not have the effect of "holding out a premium to extravagance"; Mr. Leisk

"allowed that it had a tendency that way but that he had not yet perceived any effect of that kind in Lunna or Nesting [parishes], but in Delting where more extravagant habits had gained ground they were very evident. But he added that self defence against the practices of the yaugers rendered it necessary."
(Ibid)

The notes from which these comments are extracted were not written for public consumption, but for William Mouat's own instruction in "country business" before he took over the estate of Bressay and Noss.

The amount of fish sold to the yaugers cannot be calculated, for wise yaugers kept no records or destroyed their books as soon as practicable. A guess would be that 10 or 15 percent of the total fish catch passed through their hands. We might expect yaugers to have been more active during poor fishing seasons, but any statistics would be complicated by the likelihood that many yaugers had the impertinence to resell the tenants' fish to the lairds.

Many of those who became prosperous merchants in the mid-nineteenth century seem to have started life as yaugers. George Spence

was so respectable by 1801 that he actually became tacksman of Thomas Mouat's lands in north Unst, from which he probably derived an annual real income of about £80 sterling, (according to Mouat.) He also acted as debt-collector against the recalcitrant tenants of Delting.

There is evidence that by 1814 the lairds had to some extent learned to tolerate the yaugers. The David Gray against whom Spence complained was a minor tacksman in Unst - one of the more prosperous tenants. Thomas Arthurson reported that,

"As to yauging, I have given D. Gray no order for that. But having a free lease, for a certain number of years, he has all the liberty that I can give him to follow any lawful trade or business where he finds it in his interest so to do; I have no concern with his affairs, but that he pays the tack duty ... "

(No. 2,157)

Ruefully, Thomas Mouat noted on the margin,

"Seems little inclined to discourage D. Gray."

"OF LAIRD AND TENANT"

PART II

Chapter 5. The Tenants and the Land

SOTLAND & BURRAFIRTH, UNST

JW73

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Chapter 5:1. Fishing Tenure

So much has been written about the "fishing tenures" of Shetland that it is easy to receive the impression of landmaster-ogres whipping their galley slaves to the oars for 365 days a year. In fact the ling/cod/tusk-fishing season proper only lasted for 7 or 9 weeks, and it was unusual for a six-man crew to make more than 15 or 20 2-day fishing trips in a season. (See Gardie Fish Ledgers) The taking of ling, cod, tusk etc. out of that season, and the taking of piltocks and sillocks at any time, was outwith the control of the lairds, at least in theory. This is not to belittle the arduous and oppressive nature of the summer fishing, of which detailed descriptions are to be found in the works cited in Chapters 3 and 4 above.

The problem is how and when the obligation to fish originated. There is no mention of such a system in Smith's work of 1633, nor in the parochial descriptions of 1684, nor in Brand's work of 1700. In 1725 the "Society for the Regulation of Servants and Reformation of Manners" made provision for contracts between fishermen and "masters", and for the direction of labour to where (in the lairds' opinion) it was most needed, but there was no mention of the obligation to fish in return for the possession of an agricultural holding. ~~Even~~ Thomas Gifford, in his confidential memo for the Earl of Morton in 1733, made no mention of such a system. In fact he specifically claimed that the fishermen dictated the prices the lairds paid for fish, and would not sell their fish lower; he also implied that the fishermen financed their own boats and gear, although they purchased them from the landlords, and this impression of relatively independent fisher families is borne out by the Regulations of 1725. We have seen how in 1718 Gifford discouraged an Edinburgh merchant from trading to

Shetland, explaining how all the fishermen had "taken to" selling their catch to the laird-merchants; that in 1727 Magnus Henderson let "the fishings" of Bressay and guaranteed delivery to the tacksman; and that James Henderson did the same in 1758, yet none of this proves that fishing was a condition of tenure. The curious fact is that the earliest clear evidence of fishing tenures operating ~~as such~~ widely is from George Low's description in 1774. * TAKE IN ADDENDUM OVERLEAF

It is evident that in the "economic vacuum" created by the departure of the itinerant German merchants the tenants and fishers became accustomed to trading ~~exclusively~~ mainly with the lairds, who after 1712 were the only source of credit in the islands. By 1727, when the lairds received their first real incentive to expand the fisheries (in the form of bounties from government), a great many of the tenants must have been temporarily or permanently in debt to the lairds, despite (or perhaps because of) short periods of "fulness of bread and plenty" in the 1720's. The fishermen did not have the resources to finance fishing on the increased scale possible after 1727. The lairds were the only people who could organise curing and distribution on a scale large enough to reap the benefits of the bounties; they could not do this without the tenants' co-operation; the evidence is that there was probably a tenant shortage after the smallpox epidemics of 1720 and 1740 (see Chapter 6 below) and the dearths of the 1730's, although the lairds were doing their best to provide more tenants through buying out as many of the surviving udallers as they could. No sensible laird was going to evict a good fisherman for non-payment of rent if he was going to be hard to replace. It is probable that the tenants' debts increased during this period, and that they had to rely increasingly on the lairds for the provision on credit of boats and fishing gear. Yet as long as there was a shortage of tenants and

ADDENDUM - Take in on previous page at mark *

There is, however, one particular and isolated instance of the explicit imposition of fishing tenure, or rather an attempt to do so. Curiously enough it is to be found in an edict issued by the same Thomas Gifford of Busta in 1726, a mere seven years before his assertion to Morton that fishing tenure was, in effect, impossible to enforce. His "remonstrance" was published in the fourth volume of the "Hjaltland Miscellany", edited by the late E.S.Reid Tait (Lerwick, 1947).

The document obliges the fishermen of Northmavine parish to deal with Thomas Gifford and none other; it complains that their dealings with small merchants and peddlars are ruining both Gifford and the parish - not surprisingly he assumes that his interests and those of the other parishioners are identical! He argued that he alone was responsible for supplying the parish with "necessaries", whereas the small traders were not, and claimed to have lost about £150 sterling per year on the trade - and all because of the "knaveish and dishonest" habits of the fishermen. In return for an undertaking that they would deal only with him, the laird of Busta pledged himself and his successors "to furnish them with all necessarys they shall need for carrying on the fishing, at the ordinary prices in the countrie, to receive all their white fish at the booth of Hildswick all seasons of the year and to pay the common price they have always got for them and to receive from them yearlie at least Thertie last [about 12 barrels] of herring and what more I can conveniently take, at the rate of Three pounds Scpts per barrel."

Furthermore, as he had "a natural right and power" to oblige his own tenants to accept this, he hoped it would appear "so faire and reasonable to all that no honest man in the paroch who other regairdeth his own interest or the publick good" would refuse to follow suit. The agreement, which was signed by numerous Northmavine men, was to run for seven years.

It was a brave try, but if we are also to believe Gifford's 1733 report to Morton then this new agreement must have been of short duration. The sanction for dealing with pedlars would untimately have been eviction, unlikely on a large scale for the reasons enumerated below. Gifford may have thought he had a "natural right", but it is unlikely that he had the power to enforce it.

good land went uncultivated, the tenants could probably look forward on most estates to unlimited credit and fairly secure tenancies; only when the population increased were they threatened.

The increase in population from the 1750's onwards is well documented for Shetland (see Chapter 6 below). This rise coincided with the development of new fishing techniques for working further offshore, with new markets in the Roman Catholic countries of Europe, and with the arrival in Shetland of English and Scots merchants acting as middlemen ~~for~~ with the lairds and agents for merchant houses in the south. For the first time in many years there were probably as many if not more tenants than there were holdings for them. The accumulated debts of the fishermen and their families could have been used in the 1750's and 60's to tighten up on the explicit conditions of tenure. To a fisherman-farmer accustomed to dealing only with his (or someone else's) landlord, there would have seemed nothing strange in the formalising of a de facto understanding that he would fish to pay off his debts. There is no record whatever of widespread ~~or even of~~ organised ~~isolated~~ resistance to the introduction of fishing tenures.

O'Dell's view that fishing tenures were introduced immediately after 1712 has not been conclusively disproved, but it does appear from the evidence in the Gardie papers and in the literature that fishing tenure was neither needed nor strictly feasible (before the mid-1750's) and unlikely before 1727. Even after its introduction it was, as we have seen, almost impossible to enforce completely because of the subversive activities of the yaugers. (see Chapter 4:6)

Not all tenants were on fishing tenures; Edmonston identified three different types of tenancy in Shetland in 1809;

1. Relatively low "traditional" land rents in return for the obligation to fish and to deal only with the laird.

2. Higher land rents (in Edmondston's theory the tenant paid Adam Smith's "full economic rent"), but without the obligation to fish, and with freedom to deal with any merchant.

3. High land rent plus the conditions of tenure 1.

William Mouat replied that,

"Letting lands at a high rent and requiring the tenants' fish at a reduced price, is said to occur occasionally in every parish by Edmondston ... It is believed that it does not in Unst, Yell or Fetlar."

(No. 1,943)

He forebore to mention Bressay, where the rents had been raised by his father in 1804 and would shortly be raised again by himself, without any relaxation of fishing tenure obligations. In both Unst and Bressay the first-mentioned arrangement was by far the most frequent, although there is some evidence that the number of "free" tenants increased absolutely if not relatively in Bressay in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 5. Leases and Evictions

Very few of the tenants had written leases. In 1764, according to William Mouat, most tenants had 3-year verbal agreements; by 1785 there is evidence (given by Mr. Hall to a House of Commons committee) that leases were usually valid for only one year. O'Dell, thinking perhaps of the later nineteenth century, claimed that some tenants had only 40 days notice to quit, but whether this implies very short or one year leases is not clear.

It was widely reported by contemporary writers that the lairds were genuinely puzzled when the tenants resisted "long" leases of 5 or 7 years; the tenants perhaps showed rather more understanding of the realities of the situation than they have been given credit for. They knew that if they went to the fishing and paid at least some of their rents they were sure of some security of tenure, if they wanted it, and the contemporary evidence is that many preferred to remain tenants at will so that they could give the lairds notice when it suited them.

In Thomas Mouat's 7-year leases offered in 1817 the tenant was usually obliged to carry out such improvements as dyke-building and liming (Unst had valuable limestone deposits on Mouat's farms at Cliff, and there were several lime kilns in operation by that date.) Despite the fact that tenants were sometimes offered reductions or remissions of rent for the first few years there was still no enthusiasm for leases. The vast majority of the tenants held their lands by verbal tacks of indeterminate length; they were tenants at their own will as well as at the will of the lairds; a situation that could be guaranteed as long as there were ley lands waiting for tenants.

The large scale evictions in Shetland (which were numerically insignificant compared with what happened for example in Sutherland)

were not to take place until well into the nineteenth century - in Bressay most of the recorded evictions took place as late as the 1870's. Nonetheless the tales of the nineteenth century evictions have passed into folk memory and there is a popular belief in Shetland that evictions were a common feature at all times. There is no evidence from the Gardie papers or in the literature that this was so in the period 1777-1824. It should be remembered that the average Shetland tenant in the late eighteenth century probably had few household goods of any kind; in the Statistical Account of Mid and South Yell the minister commented that

> "They delve all their little farms with the spade, and have no need of any considerable stock to begin life; all that is required being a cow, a pot, a spade, a tusker [for cutting peats], a buthie [basket], fishing rods and a rug or blanket."
>
> (OSA, Yell, 574)

Moving house was not a complicated business, and not necessarily a traumatic experience; a family simply picked up their scanty belongings, herded together their livestock, and walked over the hill to stay with relatives or to live as "house-folk" until another farm could be obtained. This is not to underestimate the distress that occasional evictions caused, but one had to be a really obstreperous rebel to be physically ejected; William Copland of Snaburgh, who persistently ignored warnings about herding his livestock and then refused to fish for Mouat, was one of these unfortunates, and some of the whale salvers of 1805 suffered the same fate.

Sometimes an eviction was recorded in the documents, as a summons of removal, but apparently did not take place.* Tenants were frequently warned from their farms when their land was transferred to a new owner or tacksman; this was a formality that enabled the new

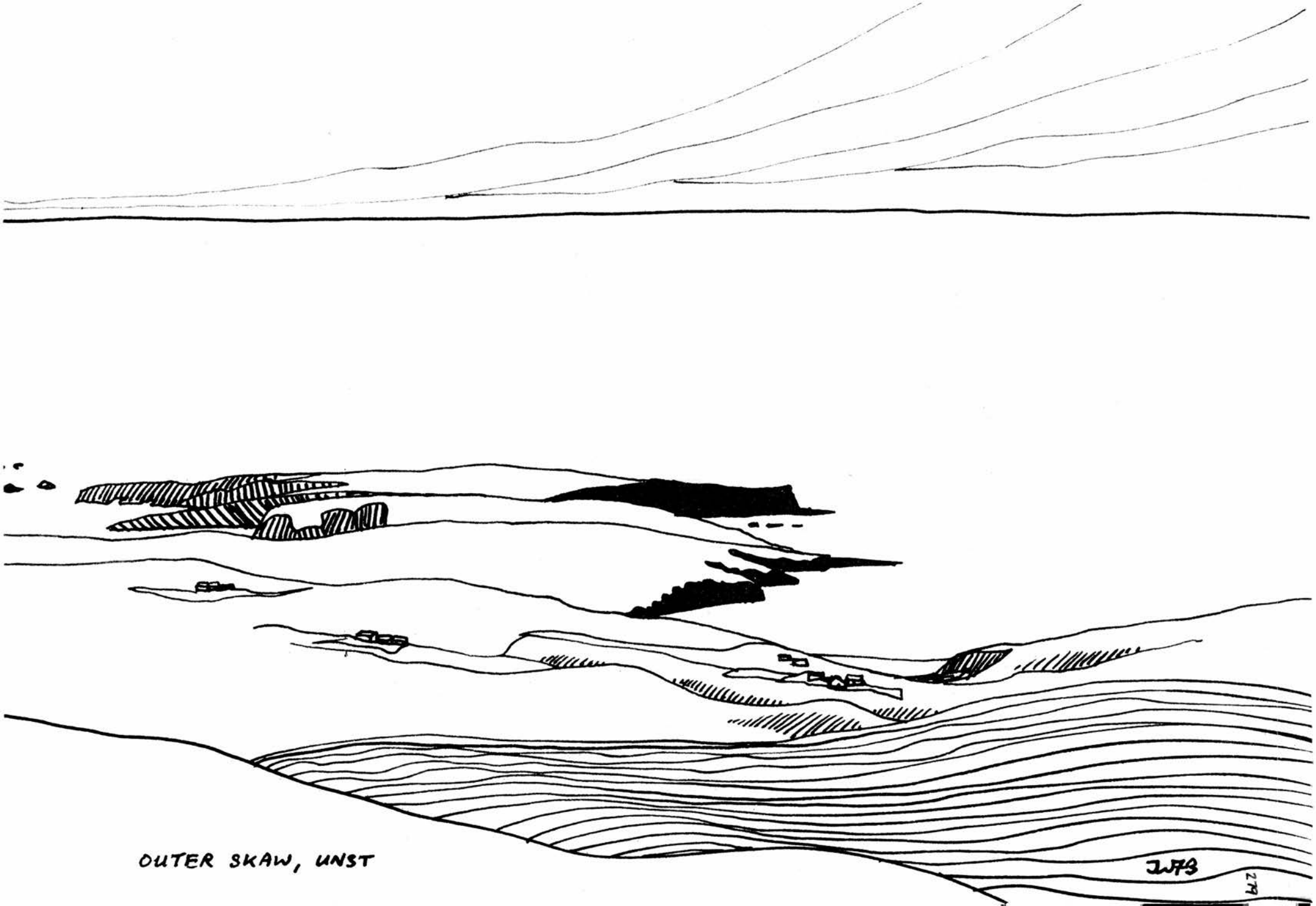
* A thorough study of the Lerwick Sheriff Court papers would throw some light on this subject.

owner or tacksman to dictate his own terms of tenure and thwart any possible claims by the tenants to ownership (by prescription) of the land they occupied. Edmondston noted that in 1807 the factors of several large estates (Mouat's included) summoned the tenants to remove in order to insert into their leases a clause reserving to the landowners a portion of whales and wreckwood that the tenants might drive ashore, reasserting a "traditional" right that had been challenged by the tenants of Uyea. An index of the infrequency (or at least the ineffectiveness) of evictions is to be found in contemporary accounts of the social structure. Thomas Mouat's manuscript of the Statistical Account of Unst made no mention of a class of landless squatters or a substantial number of cottars;

> "We have no families of common labourers, every householder is an independent tenant and fisher, and labours the ground for his own account without cottars ... "
>
> (Mss OSA, Unst, f.19) (My emphasis)

The complaints of 1725 about lack of servants were renewed many times during the eighteenth century. It was almost impossible to hire a manservant for the whole year - most took two or three months off in the summer for the fishing or for attending to their own small farms. There was certainly a small group called "house-folk" who had no visible means of subsistence. In the winter they were more numerous, but there was a hard core who had no land and lived with friends or relations, helping with domestic and agricultural work. The house-folk mentioned by William Mouat in his notes on the Bressay tenants in 1811 seem to have been distinguished from the "regular poor", who were "quartered" on each household in rotation. House-folk were especially numerous in the trading villages such as Uyeasound and Burravoe, and of course in Lerwick where several visitors noted that many of the inhabitants had no visible means of support.

House-folk were also a common feature of pre-famine Ireland where, as in Shetland, no "manufactories" had been established to soak them up. (Woodham-Smith, 1962).


OUTER SKAW, UNST
JWB
274

Chapter 5:3. Debts and Exactions

It is evident that nearly all the tenants were in debt throughout the period under discussion, usually to their landlords. In the Gardie ledgers and rentals there are special entries for tenants' debts and from time to time Thomas Mouat drew up lists of outstanding sums. In 1801 he sold to George Spense (the former yauger) the debts of the tenants of Delting; some years later he did the same in North Unst.

There is also extant at Gardie a "List of the tenants who appear to be in desperate circumstances" drawn up by Laurence Hughson of Bigton when he succeeded Thomas Bolt of Cruister in 1793 as tacksman of Bressay. In this case Hughson was bound to pay to Gardie the full value of the debts before entering the tack. Many of the 14 poorest tenants owed more than a day-labourer would expect to earn in a year (i.e. more than £3 or £4 sterling - cf. Morgan, 1971).

Calculation of debt was complicated by the multiplicity of duties exacted by the lairds and their feudal superior; the rent was the main item, but various exactions dating from Norse times (i.e. before 1469) were still collected; apart from Skatt (see below) these included "wattle, sheep and ox money, grassums, various kinds of teinds [for which the lairds were often the factors] and hogaleaves - paid for permission to cut peats in a hoga outside the tenant's own scattald."

The origin and details of these payments have been extensively researched by other writers; perhaps the best accounts are to be found in Edmondston (1809), Hibbert (1822) and O'Dell (1939). Brian Smith's unpublished paper "The skatt of Yetland" is a valuable elucidation, drawing on the works of the late A. W. Johnston published

in the Saga Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research (1934 etc.). Here the main concern is the cumulative effect of these exactions rather than their complicated development, but see my examination of the skatt of Norwick, below.

The difficulty of keeping accounts was exacerbated by the fact that different kinds of land, and different districts, paid at different rates for each imposition, according to the type of tenure and the quality of the land. Most of the payments were individually insignificant in comparison with the rents and fishing proceeds, but when aggregated they were a heavy burden on the tenants. If a laird wanted to get a tenant into debt it was very easy to do so, the more so since most tenants did not understand accounts and were unduly impressed with the veracity of anything written on paper.

Despite the ease with which it could be incurred there are very few cases recorded at Gardie of tenants being pursued at law for debt (although merchants were often less understanding).* Usually the Mouats waited until the tenant died or decided to "flit". Then they applied to the Sheriff for a warrant to confiscate and auction the effects, (if there were any). This was the method used with James Harper of Watley (Unst) and John Hoseason of Murrister (Unst) who died in 1783 and 1784 respectively. John Bain of Burraness (North Yell) flitted from Mouat's farm there to a new holding on the other side of the voe, but on arrival he found a "precept of poynding and arrestment" waiting for him from Thomas Mouat, to whom he owed £12:6:7d scots.

The really harsh cases were few and far between; many of them were the responsibility of Thomas Mouat's father, who grew

* There are numerous cases of proceedings being instigated, most of which are recorded in the Sheriff Court papers, which merit further study.

increasingly gouty and cantankerous after the age of 60. In April 1790, three weeks before he died, he received a craven letter from George Angus of Firth (Delting) begging him not to evict him; William Mouat had ordered him to move all his sheep from their pastures and get them ready for auction (only two weeks before lambing!) so it is hardly surprising that Angus accused him of trying to ruin him.* (No. 1,169) It is probable that such recorded cases are only the tip of the iceberg, for the Mouats had other ways of bringing tenants to heel; it may be that often the mere threat of legal action would be enough to ensure part-payment of a debt or an undertaking to work for the laird. One of the few tenants to be evicted for breach of contract, unaggravated by debt, was Andrew Bruce, "residenter" in Uyeasound who in 1785 was evicted from his house (he held no land) for failing to honour his agreement to "fish for Thomas Mouat or sail in his big boat." ~~(No. ____)~~ (GP. 1785)

It is noticeable that actions against small tenants were especially frequent in the dearth of 1782 to 1785. For example, in December 1783 Thomas Mouat was authorised by his friend Sheriff Malcolmson summarily to confiscate the property of all those tenants in Unst who still refused to pay up their "hawk hens". Hawk hens were yet another exaction, originally a payment in poultry to feed the hawks supplied by Shetland to the Royal Falconer, but latterly converted to money and "farmed" by the lairds. There is no record of such a massive expropriation actually taking place, which reinforces the general theory that the law was normally used against the tenant as a threat.

* Three years earlier, Angus had been obliged to dispone his 8 merks in Firth and his 1 merk in Swinister to Mouat, thus becoming his tenant. (GP Inventory of Writs, 1819.)

Chapter 5:4. The Problem of Skatt

This section is based on studies of the work of A.W. Johnston, A.C. O'Dell, Gilbert Goudie, and lengthy conversations with Brian Smith. He and I are still not in complete agreement on this problem, but what follows is a summary of what sense I can make of Skatt in general and the Skatts of Norwick in particular.

The subject of Orkney and Shetland Skatts is almost as hazardous an area of scholarly investigation as the proverbial ridge and furrow, but some understanding of it is essential to our investigation of the development of Shetland townships. The township of Norwick, whose land use is discussed in Chapter 5:8, is here taken as an example of the complexities of the subject.

Skatt was probably the part of the rent that had to be paid to the Crown of Norway; in later years a third of it remained in the hands of the Earl (usually resident in Orkney or Shetland) and when the Crown remitted its 2/3 share for good (in about 900 A.D.) the remaining 1/3 continued to be paid to the Earl.

The valued rent of each merk of land was originally 10 Norse pennies per annum; the expression " x pennies the merk" refers to the proportion of that valued rent that was paid in rent to the owner of the land - the rest went to the Earl as skatt; thus the lands of Norwick, which were rated at 6 pennies the merk, originally paid 4 pennies per merk skatt and 6 pennies per merk rent, making a total of 10 pennies.

By 1733 the amounts entered in the skatt rental for Norwick and for most other townships bore little superficial resemblance to the original rates per merk. There are several reasons for this.

The skatt was originally paid in kind; 1/3 of the value was made up of malt and 2/3 of cloth (in Orkney, to complicate matters, the proportions were reversed, reflecting the basic differences in the

rural economy of the two island groups.) In the thirteenth century the malt payment was converted to butter; it is possible to speculate that this was the result of a change in emphasis from cereal growing to livestock accompanied perhaps by the arrival of a new influx of settlers from Scandinavia (as the "-quoy", "garth" and other place-names seem to suggest). ~~Is the point that~~ So possibly there was an expansion of husbandry?

Also in the thirteenth century the value of cloth depreciated by about a third all over Norway; this is more evidence for the shift to grazing suggested by the conversion from malt to butter. Perhaps the influx of new settlers simply meant that more use was made of the hill land nearest the farms, the good cereal growing lands having been occupied by the first settlers. In such a situation the malt production would have declined relatively but not necessarily absolutely.

The effect on skatt was to reduce to a third of its former value the 2/3 of the skatt that was paid in cloth. It has usually been assumed that this meant that the farmers paid a third as much skatt as formerly, but this does not take into account the possibility that the malt/butter payment may have remained unaltered (but see below). Thus the new thirteenth century "post-devaluation" skatt would have been 55.5% of that paid previously, and of this sum only 40% would have been paid in cloth instead of two thirds. It is quite possible that the amount of cloth paid was trebled to restore the skatt to its true value, but there is no concrete evidence for this.

The situation was complicated further by the conversion of the cloth payment to scots money around the year 1628. But by the eighteenth century the value of Scots money had depreciated to a twelfth of its former value, and it is clear from the 1733 skatt rental that this depreciation had been countered by multiplying the value of skatt by about twelve.

A small part of the money skatt was by 1733 paid in fish oil, perhaps partly as a result of the decline in circulating coinage in the years after the departure of the German merchants.

The lands of Norwick, like nearly all those in Unst, were rated at 6 pennies the merk; this is stated in some rentals and confirmed by the butter rents, which had remained nominally stable although of course the lispund itself had been adulterated. Each merk of land paid one and a third merks of butter (24 merks = 1 lispund) for each penny of its value. So a six-penny merk of land would pay 6 x 1.33 merks or one third of a lispund, which was the case on the Norwick land not owned by the Earl of Morton. (for such land paid no skatt.)

The skatt of one merk of land in Norwick was therefore 4d when the first valuation was made; only 5 of the 8 rooms in Norwick paid skatt, according to the earliest rentals; Hoya (originally Housagord - the enclosure with the house) paid no skatt, like all "outsets"; nor did Vellie, another outset. Virse probably paid skatt before it became glebe land (probably after the Reformation) but we have no pre-Reformation rental to check this. Thus only 144 of the 163 merks (those in Turfhoull, Sandil, Digron, Kirkaton, and North Deal) paid skatt. The first four of these paid in butter, fish oil and money, but Deal, being separate from the rest of the township, on poorer land further from the shore, paid only in money by 1733.

In theory therefore the skatt of Norwick should have been as follows:

144 merks @ 4d	=	576 pennies
of which payment was divided between		192 pennies of <u>malt</u> (1/3) & 384 pennies of <u>cloth</u> (2/3)
after cloth depreciation and conversion	=	192 pennies of <u>butter</u> & 128 pennies of <u>cloth</u> (384/3)

after conversion = 192 pennies of butter & 128 pennies Scots money

= 320 pennies scots total

= 3840 pennies scots after depreciation of scots currency (x 12)

Of this 3840d, 60% was paid in butter and 40% in money or, latterly, in money and fish oil.

In practice, the skatt of Norwick, as rentalled in 1733 by John Hay of Balbithan and Thomas Gifford of Busta, factors for the Earl of Morton (No. SB:11) (They based their rental on one furnished by the Officers of State for Scotland in 1670 to Andrew Dick, tacksman of Orkney and Shetland) was as follows:

Norwick's 144 merks paid	
4 lispunds of butter valued at £3 Scots per lispund. (This must have been good table butter because the conversion price for butter given by Thomas Mouat in Vade Mecum - see Appendix 3 - was only 58d to 90d per lispund, presumably for grease butter)	2880 d.
plus 8 cans of fish oil @ 6/- scots (again there is a discrepancy with Thomas Mouat's figures - 6d to 12d scots per can, but like the butter price this was a conversion price not necessarily reflecting the value.)	576 d.
and £8/8/0d scots in money	2014 d.
Total	5470 d.
Theoretical skat	3840 d.
Discrepancy	1630 d.

So the actual skat is 142% of the theoretical skatt, not surprising considering the vicissitudes of the period between 880 and 1670. Nonetheless the combined value of money and oil skat (2590d.) was 42% of the total value, just about what it should have been. There is however an alternative explanation; just to show how complicated skat can be, let us assume that when cloth depreciated by a third the

kings of Norway and Denmark reduced the whole skatt by a third, not just the cloth (later money) part of it.

In that case the skat of Norwick would be

144 merks @ 4d.	=	576 pennies
after 33⅓% devaluation	=	192 pennies
broken down into		64d. of malt and 128d of cloth
which after conversion	=	64d. of butter and 128d. of money
	=	192d. scots total
after depreciation of Scots money	=	2304d. scots
	=	14d. per merk.

If we further assume that the prices for butter and oil quoted by Busta were unusual, and instead take Thomas Mouat's figures of 58d per lispund for butter and 6d per can for oil (and there is a great deal of evidence from the Gardie Rentals that this was the almost universal conversion prices), we get a total skat for Norwick of 2294d (2014d in money, 232d in butter and 48d in oil). This is actually below the second theoretical total of 2304d scots, but if we take the highest prices quoted by Mouat (90d per lispund for butter and 12d per can for oil) we arrive at an actual payment of 2472d (2014d money, 360d butter and 96d oil) which is 168d above the calculated skat, and 17d per merk.

In view of the decline in butter and fish oil quality which is well documented for the later eighteenth century, the recurrence of the 58d and 6d prices in Mouat's rentals, and the tendency for these prices to increase, as he noted in "Vade Mecum," the second explanation seems more likely. Remarkable as it may seem, it is highly likely that the skat of Norwick at the end of the eighteenth century was within 10% of what it should have been. Whichever explanation is accepted, we should bear in mind that the "skat" recorded here was in many cases compounded with other "superiorities" such as sheep and ox money, ~~ann~~boths, wattle etc.

Chapter 515 The Skatt of Dust

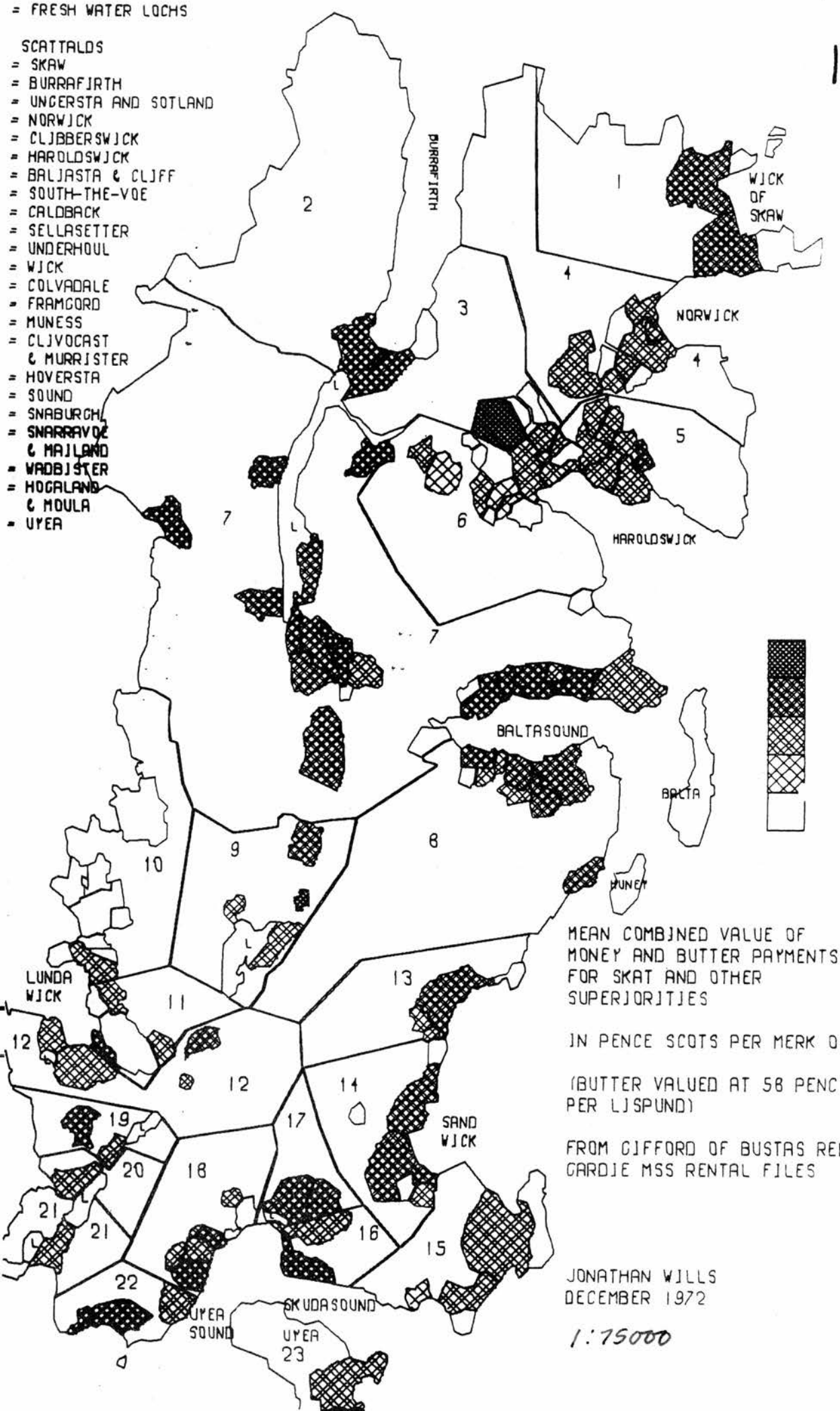
Maps 12 - 16

MAP 12

BOLS

= FRESH WATER LOCHS

SCATTALDS
= SKAW
= BURRAFIRTH
= UNDERSTA AND SOTLAND
= NORWICK
= CLIBBERSWICK
= HAROLDSWICK
= BALTASTA & CLIFF
= SOUTH-THE-VOE
= CALDBACK
= SELLASETTER
= UNDERHOUL
= WICK
= COLVADALE
= FRAMGORD
= MUNESS
= CLIVOCAST & MURRISTER
= HOVERSTA
= SOUND
= SNABURGH
= SNARRAVOE & MAILAND
= WADBISTER
= HOGALAND & MOULA
= UYEA



90 pence scots
60
36
18
1
~~NO RECORD~~
0

MEAN COMBINED VALUE OF MONEY AND BUTTER PAYMENTS FOR SKAT AND OTHER SUPERIORITIES

IN PENCE SCOTS PER MERK OF LAND

(BUTTER VALUED AT 58 PENCE SCOTS PER LISPUND)

FROM CLIFFORD OF BUSTAS RENTAL, 1733
CARDIE MSS RENTAL FILES

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

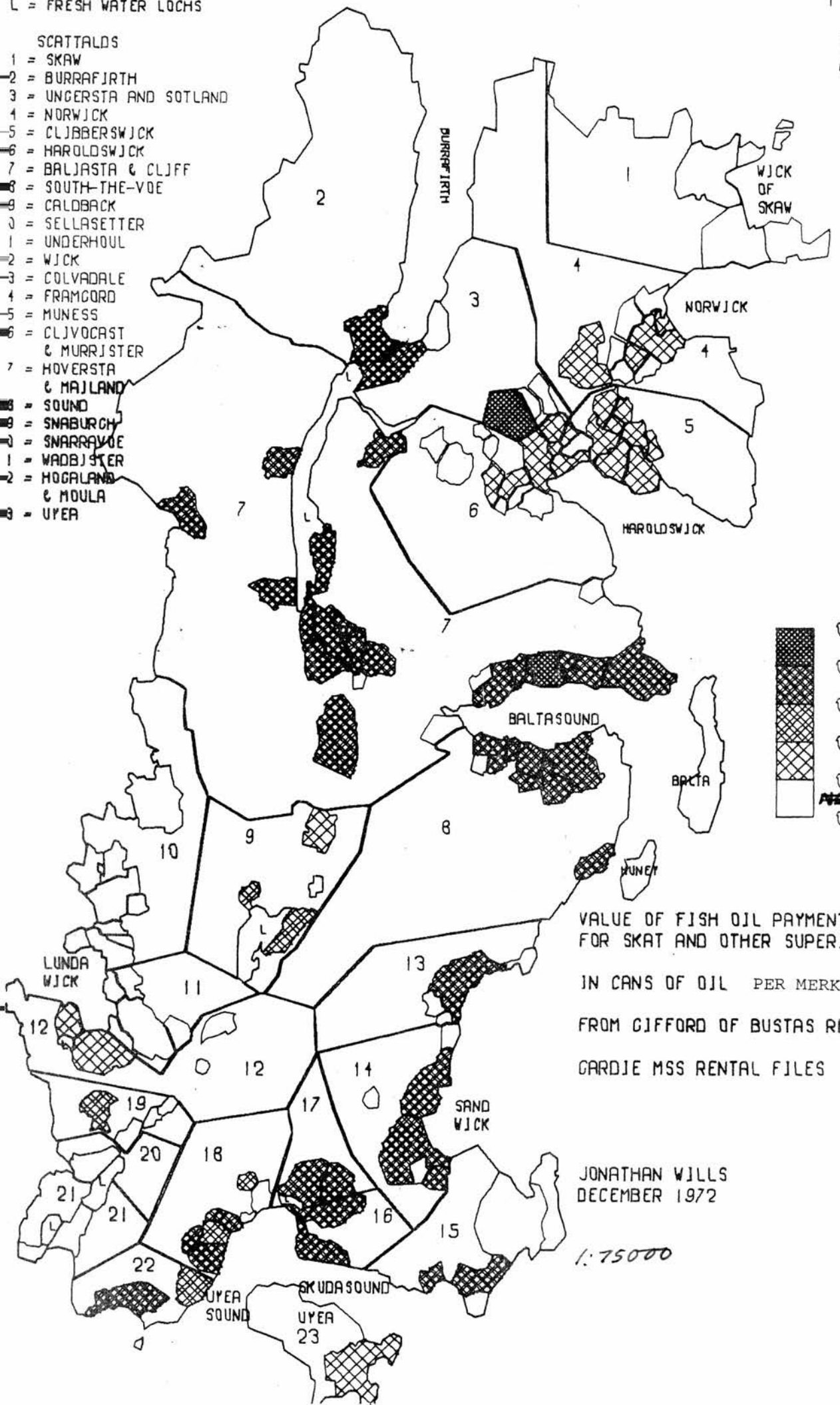
1:75000

MAP 13

YMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS

SCATTALDS
1 = SKAW
2 = BURRAFIRTH
3 = UNGERSTA AND SOTLAND
4 = NORWICK
5 = CLIBBERSWICK
6 = HAROLDSWICK
7 = BALTASTA & CLIFF
8 = SOUTH-THE-VOE
9 = CALDBACK
0 = SELLASETTER
1 = UNDERHOUL
2 = WICK
3 = COLVADALE
4 = FRAMGORD
5 = MUNESS
6 = CLIVOCAST & MURRISTER
7 = HOVERSTA & MAILAND
8 = SOUND
9 = SNABURGH
0 = SNARRAVOE
1 = WADBISTER
2 = HOGALAND & MOULA
3 = UYEA



VALUE OF FISH OIL PAYMENTS
FOR SKAT AND OTHER SUPERIORITIES

IN CANS OF OIL PER MERK OF LAND

FROM CLIFFORD OF BUSTAS RENTAL OF 1733

CARDIE MSS RENTAL FILES

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

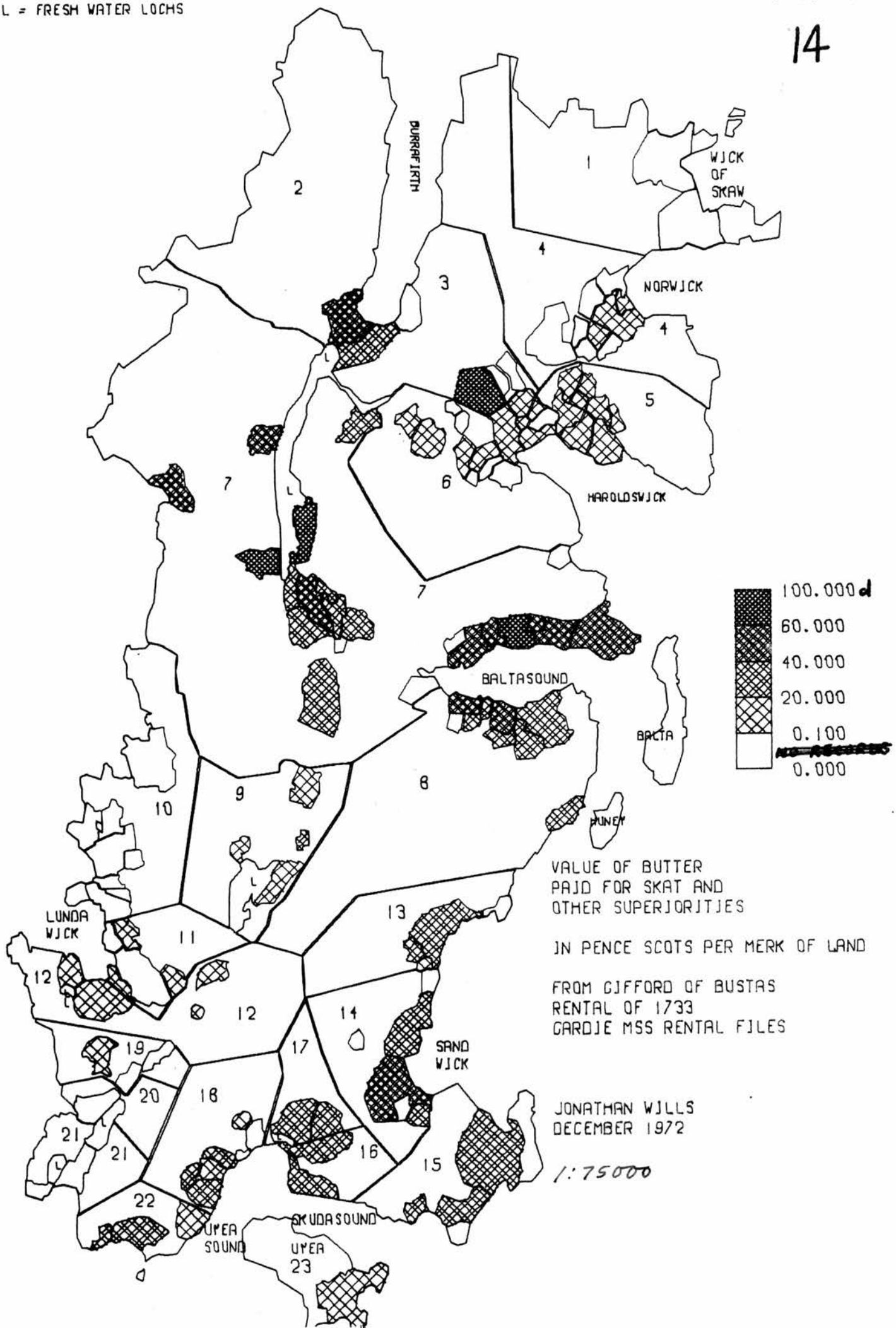
1:75000

MAP

14

SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS



VALUE OF BUTTER
PAID FOR SKAT AND
OTHER SUPERIORITIES

IN PENCE SCOTS PER MERK OF LAND

FROM CLIFFORD OF BUSTAS
RENTAL OF 1733
CARDLE MSS RENTAL FILES

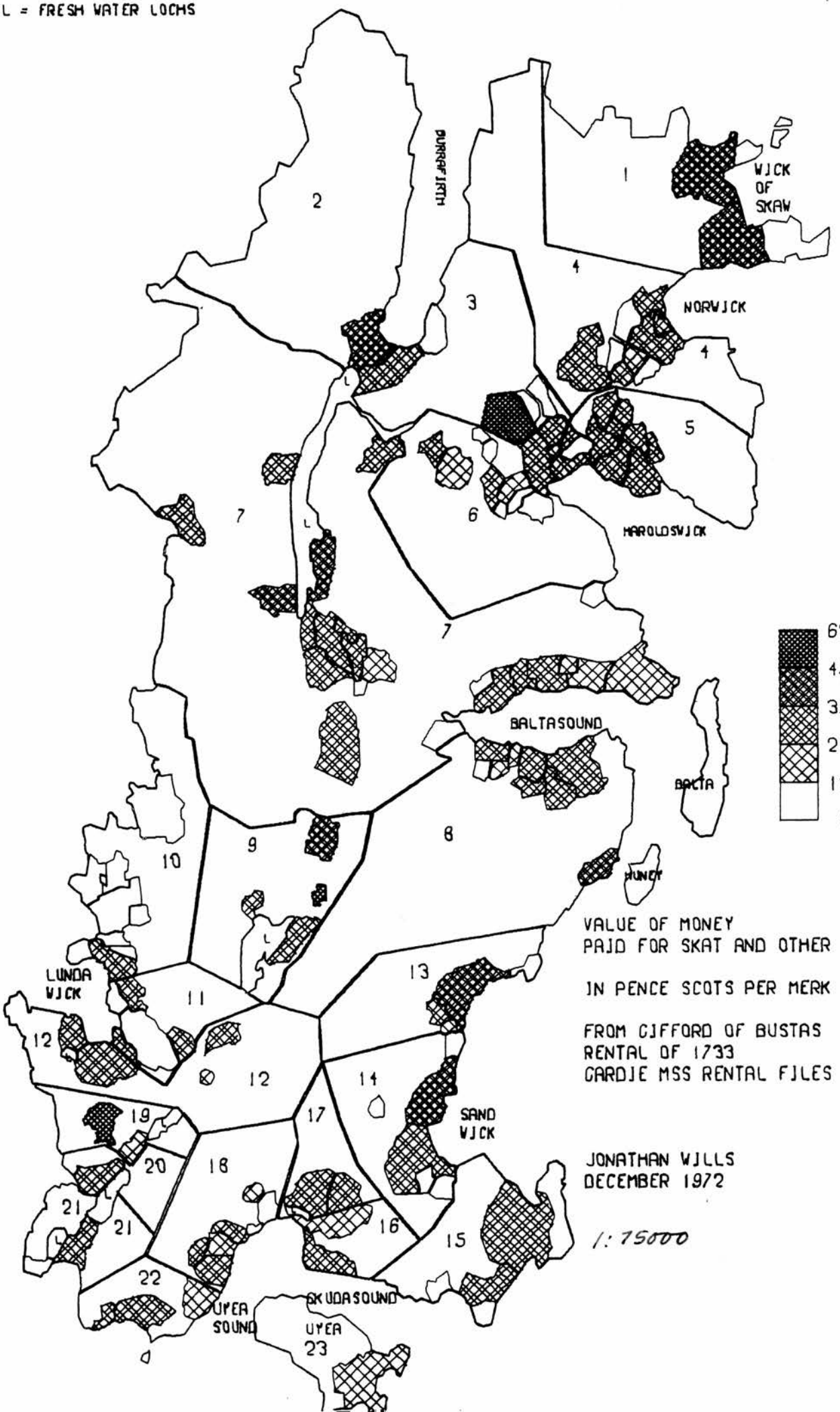
JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

1:75000

MAP 15

SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS



VALUE OF MONEY
PAID FOR SKAT AND OTHER SUPERIORITIES

IN PENCE SCOTS PER MERK OF LAND

FROM CLIFFORD OF BUSTAS
RENTAL OF 1733
CARDIE MSS RENTAL FILES

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

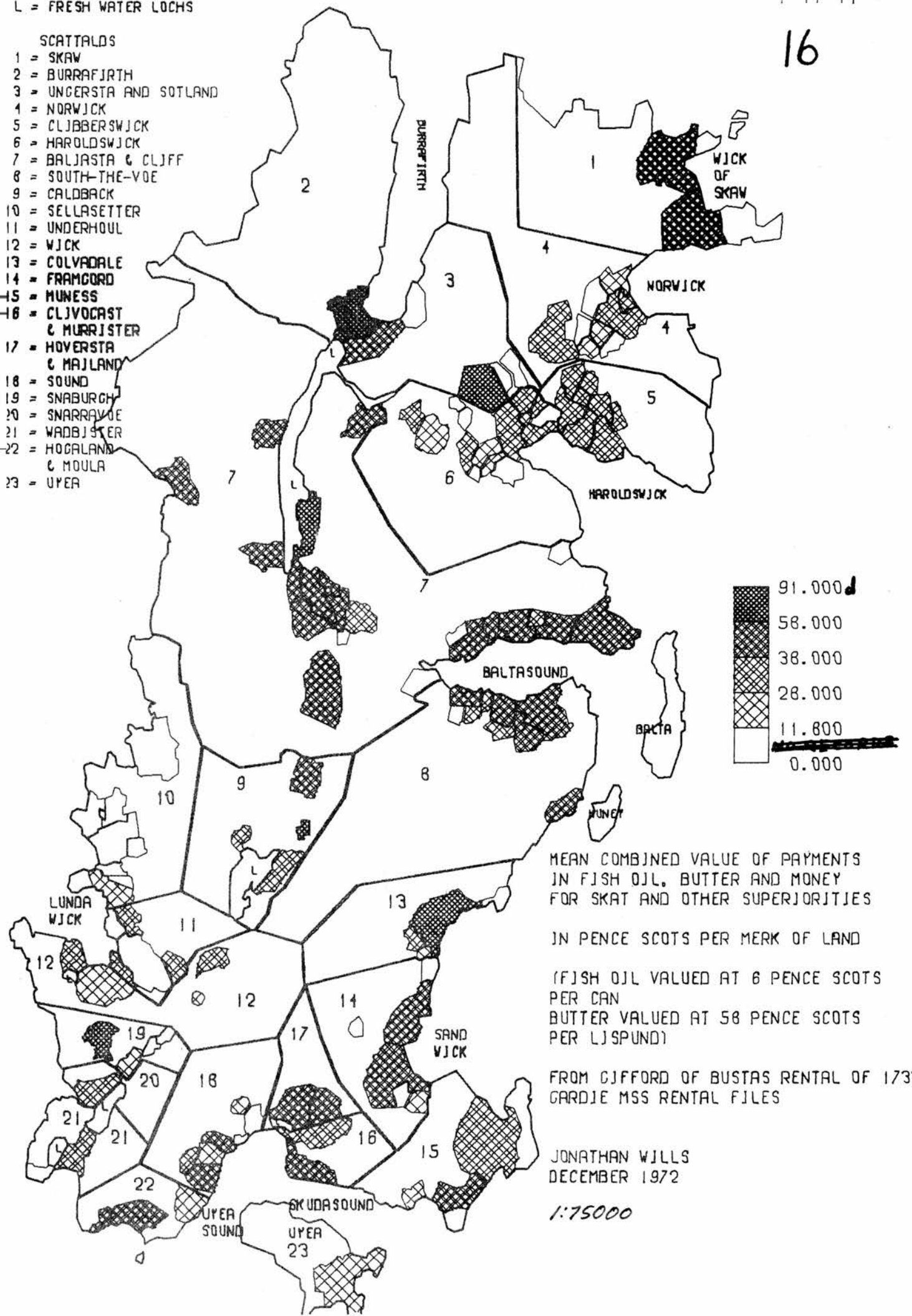
1:75000

MAP 16

SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS

SCATTALDS
1 = SKAW
2 = BURRAFIRTH
3 = UNDERSTA AND SOTLAND
4 = NORWICK
5 = CLIBBERSWICK
6 = HAROLDSWICK
7 = BALTASTA & CLIFF
8 = SOUTH-THE-VOE
9 = CALDBACK
10 = SELLASETTER
11 = UNDERHOUL
12 = WICK
13 = COLVADALE
14 = FRAMGORD
15 = MUNESS
16 = CLIVOCAST & MURRISTER
17 = HOVERSTA & MAILAND
18 = SOUND
19 = SNABURGH
20 = SNARRAVOE
21 = WADBISTER
22 = HOGALAND & MOULA
23 = UYEA



MEAN COMBINED VALUE OF PAYMENTS IN FISH OIL, BUTTER AND MONEY FOR SKAT AND OTHER SUPERIORITIES

IN PENCE SCOTS PER MERK OF LAND

(FISH OIL VALUED AT 6 PENCE SCOTS PER CAN
BUTTER VALUED AT 56 PENCE SCOTS PER LISPUND)

FROM CLIFFORD OF BUSTAS RENTAL OF 1733
CARDIE MSS RENTAL FILES

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

1:75000

Chapter 5:5. The Skatt of Unst (See also Appendix 3)

There were wide variations even within Unst in the amount of skatt charged on the tenants - for although skatt was payable by the laird the evidence suggests that he almost always charged it on his tenants in addition to the rents.

Map 12 shows that most rooms in Unst paid between 36 and 60 pence of skatt per merk of land. Only one room, the fertile and sunny lands of Ungersta, paid over 60d, yet those paying less than 36d included the poorer land of Caldback and Stove as well as the valuable rooms of Rammageo. Norwick, Clibberswick and Haroldswick also paid a relatively low skatt, as did Wick and Underhoull scattalds. In Sellasetter scattald hardly any skatt at all appears to have been paid.

Map 13 shows that Sellasetter scattald, together with Underhoull, Snarravoe, Wadbister, Skaw and most of Muness scattalds, completely escaped skatt payments in fish oil, whereas most of the more inland rooms paid the normal level of fish oil - $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{3}{8}$ of a can per merk of land. Only Ungersta and Midgarth paid more than $\frac{3}{8}$ of a can. These two rooms, with the rich grazing lands of Houlland and Cliff, also paid the highest rate of butter skatt (Map 14). The rooms on the north side of Baltasound, plus Burrafirth, Petester, Woodwick, Brough of Baliasta and Sandwick also paid more than the middle range of 20-40d of butter. Again Norwick, Haroldswick and Clibberswick paid less than average, along with Underhoul and Wick. Collaster, Snarravoe and Wadbister paid none at all.

May 15 shows that while more rooms paid in money than in butter or fish (Skaw and Houlnon paid only in money) there were again wide variations. In general those rooms with low butter skat compensated by a higher money skat - e.g. North Dale, Norwick, Haroldswick, Clibberswick

Caldback and Snabrough - and vice versa. This may suggest some differential in the production of the various rooms when skat was first levied, remembering that money was originally paid in cloth (from grazing land) and butter paid in malt (from arable land). Thus the south-west and north-east paid more in money, the middle and south-east in butter.

Despite this, by 1733, these variations did not seem to be related in any precise way to such physical factors as distance from the sea, fertility of soil, balance between arable and grazing ~~or~~ or location within the island. It is significant that Muness, which paid a low skat, had been the property of the feudal superior for several centuries. This and its lucrative fishings may have earned it this concession. Stove, a very old outset separate from the rest of Haroldswick, was one of the poorer farms and paid a low skatt. But in general there seems to have been no rhyme or reason in the skat of 1733. As the study of Norwick's skat shows, the old taxation system had been put through so many conversions of currency and weights, and to so many different purposes by successive overlords, that by 1733 it was exacted in a very arbitary fashion merely as a source of renenue for Royal favourites. All thought had gone of a tax proportionally adjusted to the capabilities of the land and its inhabitants.

Chapter 5:6 The Rents of Thomas Mouat's Estate in 1797

Maps 17 - 21

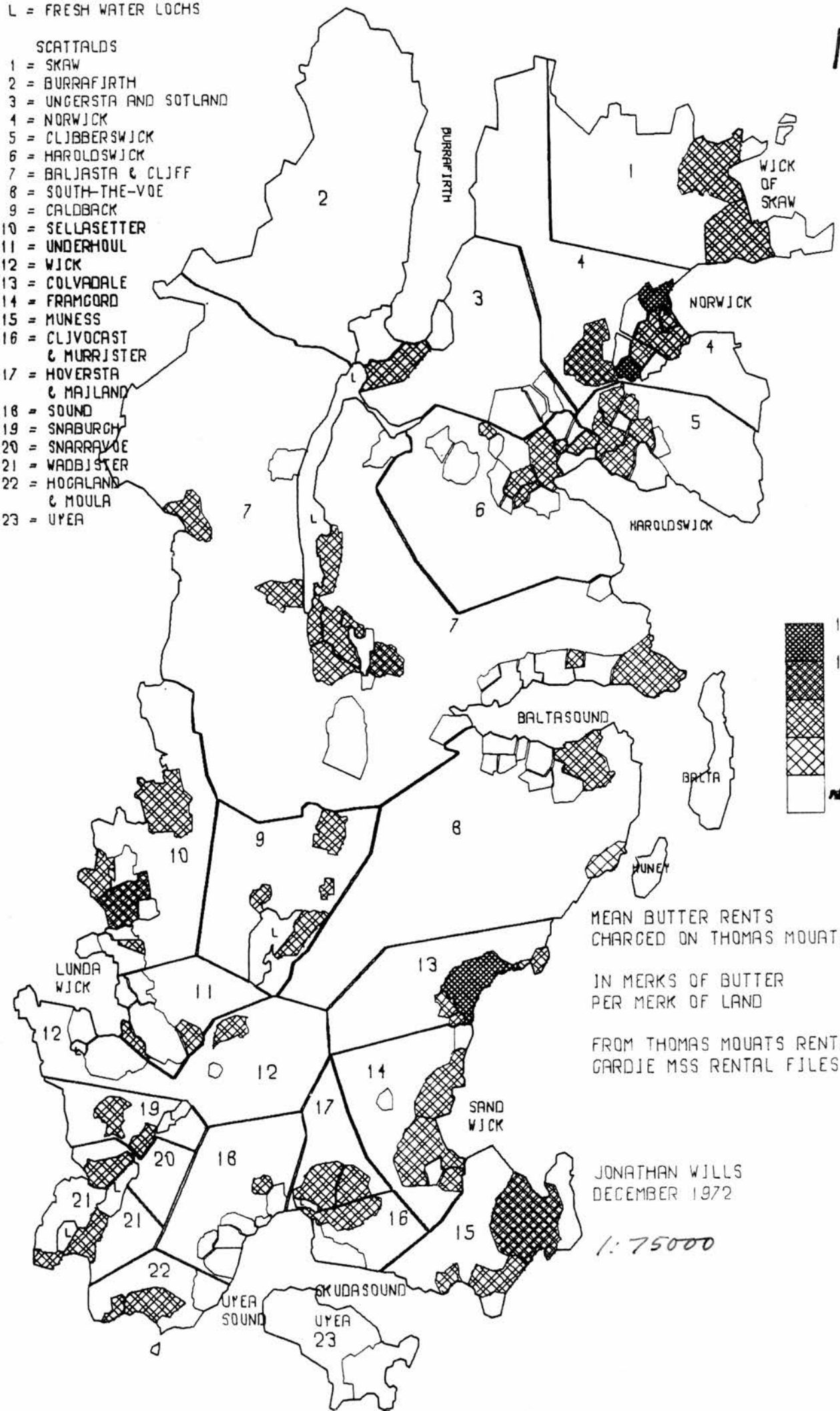
MAP

17

SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS

SCATTALDS
1 = SKAW
2 = BURRAFIRTH
3 = UNGERSTA AND SOTLAND
4 = NORWICK
5 = CLIBBERSWICK
6 = HAROLDSWICK
7 = BALJASTA & CLIFF
8 = SOUTH-THE-VOE
9 = CALDBACK
10 = SELLASETTER
11 = UNDERHOUL
12 = WICK
13 = COLVADALE
14 = FRAMGORD
15 = MUNESS
16 = CLIVOCAST & MURRISTER
17 = HOVERSTA & MAILAND
18 = SOUND
19 = SNABURGH
20 = SNARRAVOE
21 = WADBISTER
22 = HOGALAND & MOULA
23 = UYEA



MEAN BUTTER RENTS
CHARGED ON THOMAS MOUATS TENANTS

IN MERKS OF BUTTER
PER MERK OF LAND

FROM THOMAS MOUATS RENTAL FOR 1797
CARDIE MSS RENTAL FILES

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

1:75000

MAP

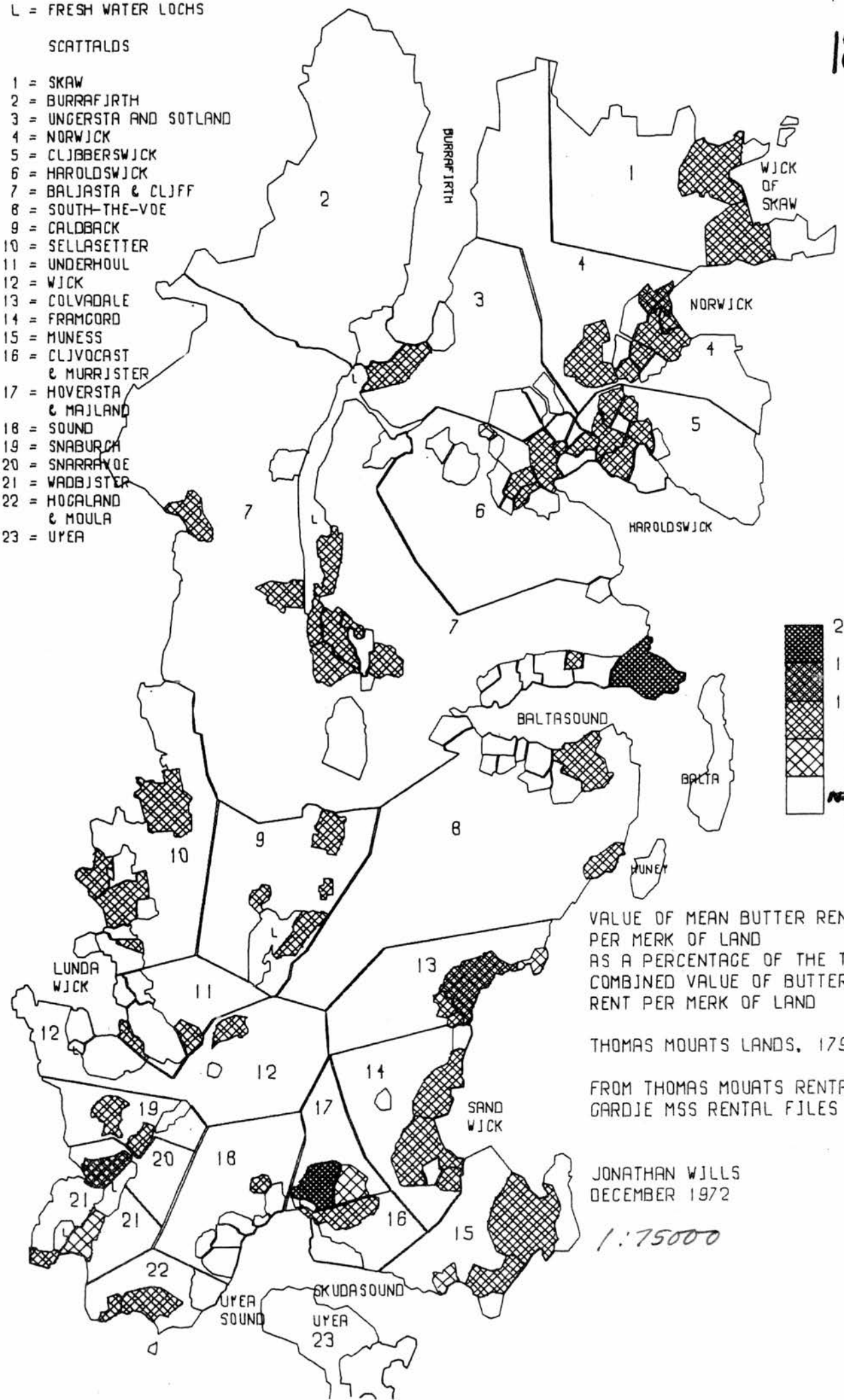
18

SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS

SCATTALDS

1 = SKAW
2 = BURRAFIRTH
3 = UNGERSTA AND SOTLAND
4 = NORWICK
5 = CLIBBERSWICK
6 = HAROLDSWICK
7 = BALTASTA & CLIFF
8 = SOUTH-THE-VOE
9 = CALDBACK
10 = SELLASETTER
11 = UNDERHOUL
12 = WICK
13 = COLVADALE
14 = FRAMGORD
15 = MUNESS
16 = CLIVOCAST & MURRISTER
17 = HOVERSTA & MAILAND
18 = SOUND
19 = SNABURGH
20 = SNARRAVOE
21 = WADBISTER
22 = HOGALAND & MOULA
23 = UYEA



VALUE OF MEAN BUTTER RENT PER MERK OF LAND AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL COMBINED VALUE OF BUTTER AND MONE RENT PER MERK OF LAND

THOMAS MOUATS LANDS, 1797

FROM THOMAS MOUATS RENTAL FOR 179 CARDIE MSS RENTAL FILES

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

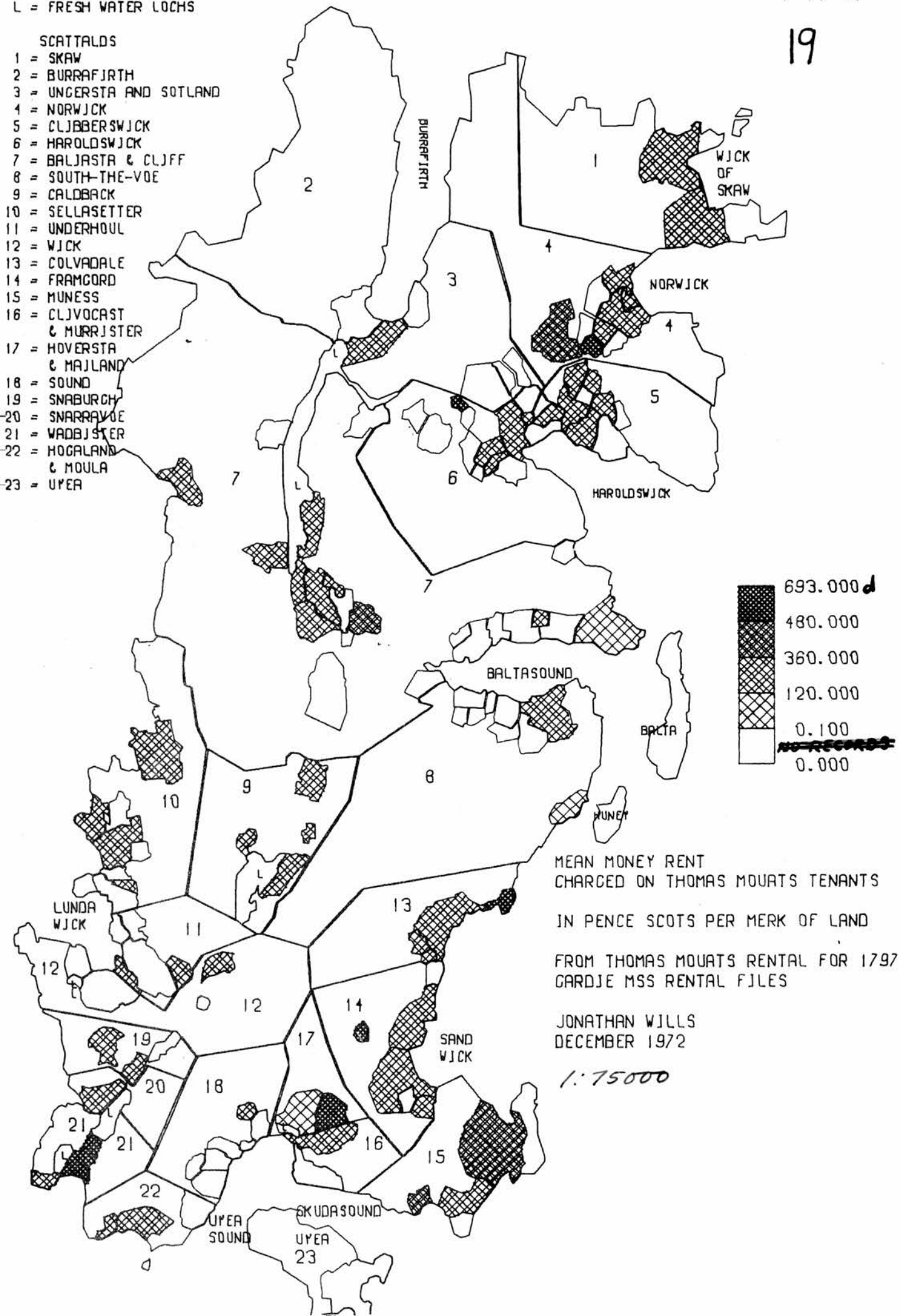
1:75000

MAP 19

SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS

SCATTALDS
1 = SKAW
2 = BURRAFIRTH
3 = UNGERSTA AND SOTLAND
4 = NORWICK
5 = CLIBBERSWICK
6 = HAROLDSWICK
7 = BALTASTA & CLIFF
8 = SOUTH-THE-VOE
9 = CALDBACK
10 = SELLASETTER
11 = UNDERHOUL
12 = WICK
13 = COLVADALE
14 = FRAMGORD
15 = MUNESS
16 = CLIVOCAST & MURRISTER
17 = HOVERSTA & MAILAND
18 = SOUND
19 = SNABURGH
20 = SNARRAVOE
21 = WADBISTER
22 = HOGALAND & MOULA
23 = UYEA



MEAN MONEY RENT
CHARGED ON THOMAS MOUATS TENANTS

IN PENCE SCOTS PER MERK OF LAND

FROM THOMAS MOUATS RENTAL FOR 1797
GARDIE MSS RENTAL FILES

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

1:75000

300

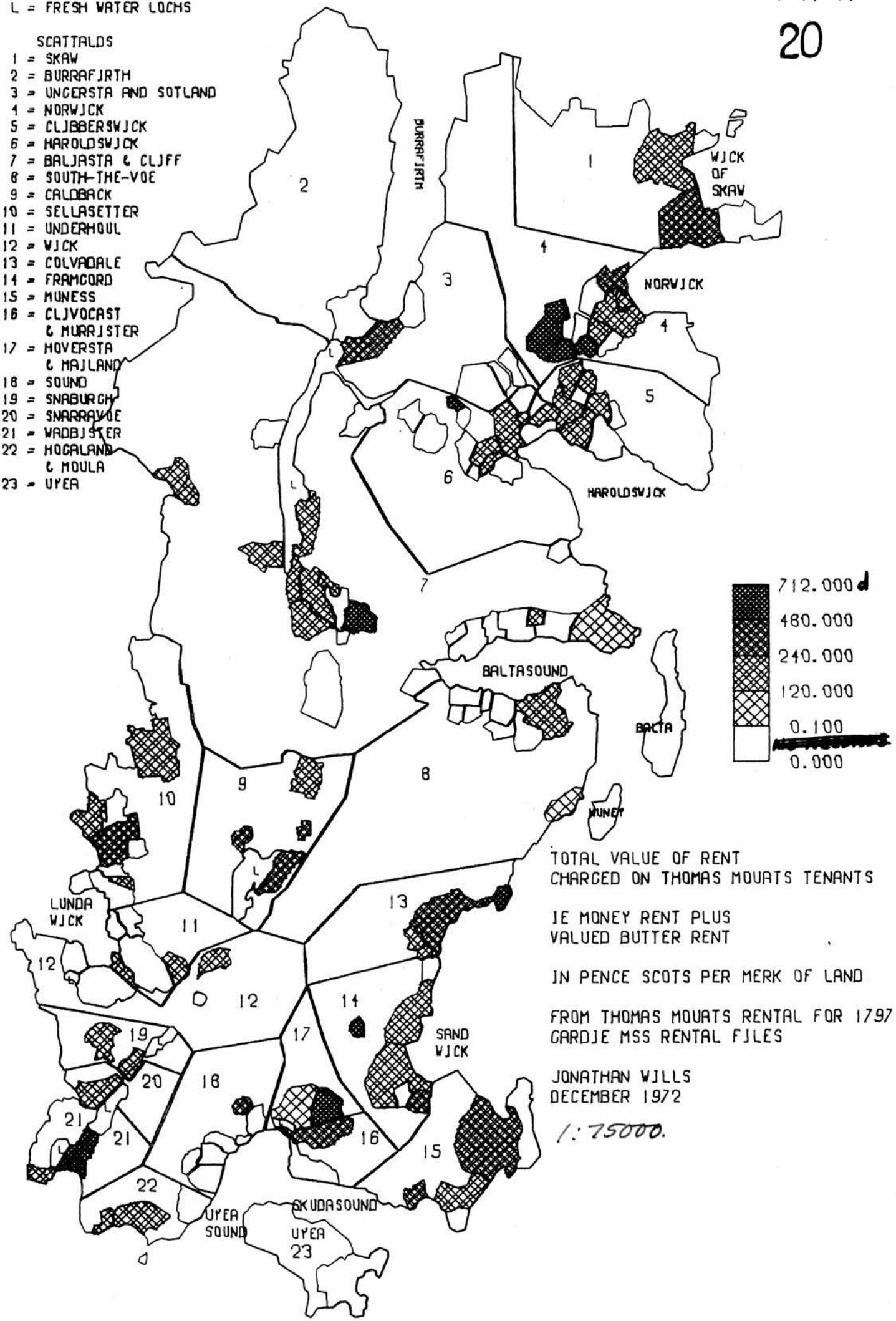
MAP

20

SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS

SCATTALDS
1 = SKAW
2 = BURRAFIRTH
3 = UNGERSTA AND SOTLAND
4 = NORWICK
5 = CLIBBERSWICK
6 = HAROLDSWICK
7 = BALIASTA & CLIFF
8 = SOUTH-THE-VOE
9 = CALDBACK
10 = SELLASETTER
11 = UNDERHOUL
12 = WICK
13 = COLVADALE
14 = FRAMGORD
15 = MUNESS
16 = CLIVOCAST & MURRISTER
17 = HOVERSTA & MAILAND
18 = SOUND
19 = SNABURGH
20 = SNARRAVOE
21 = WADBISTER
22 = HOGALAND & MOULA
23 = UYEA



TOTAL VALUE OF RENT
CHARGED ON THOMAS MOUATS TENANTS

IE MONEY RENT PLUS
VALUED BUTTER RENT

IN PENCE SCOTS PER MERK OF LAND

FROM THOMAS MOUATS RENTAL FOR 1797
CARDIE MSS RENTAL FILES

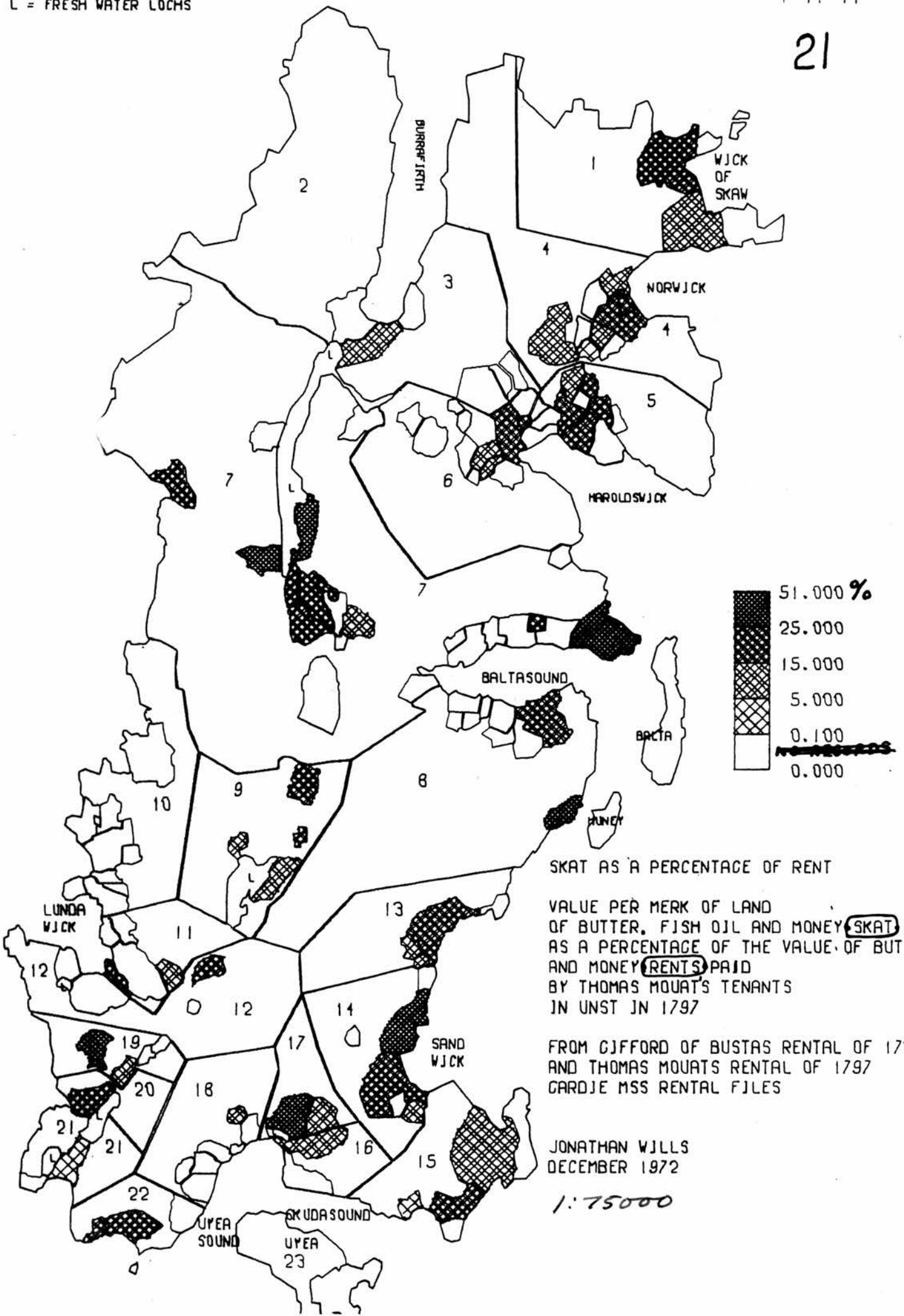
JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

1:75000.

SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS

MAP 21



SKAT AS A PERCENTAGE OF RENT

VALUE PER MERK OF LAND
OF BUTTER, FISH OIL AND MONEY (SKAT) ETC
AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE VALUE OF BUTTER
AND MONEY (RENTS) PAID
BY THOMAS MOUAT'S TENANTS
IN UNST IN 1797

FROM CLIFFORD OF BUSTAS RENTAL OF 1733
AND THOMAS MOUATS RENTAL OF 1797
CARDJE MSS RENTAL FILES

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

1:75000

Chapter 5:6. Rents

The rents on Thomas Mouat's estate were theoretically calculated according to a system as ancient as the skat itself, but the ~~wages~~ maps (17-20) show that there was in fact less variation than for skat, and explanations may be easier to find. Rents were only paid in butter and money so the fish oil element is not here to confuse matters. The situation is made easier to understand by the fact that nearly all the land of Unst was rated at 6d the merk.

Butter rents (Map 17) were generally valued between 6d and 9d the merk, (valued at 58d per lispund) roughly what we would expect, but Money Rents were far higher, between 120d and 360d being normal. On most farms butter made up between 5 and 10% of the total rental value According to the ancient penny-rate a merk of land rated at 6d the merk would have paid 8 merks of butter (6 x 1⅓) and 8/- scots (6 x 1⅓/-) in money rent. Butter converted at 58d the lispund (24 merks = 1 lispund) would thus have been valued at 19d (58d ÷ 3), 16% of the total valued rent of 115d (19d + 96d in money). It is clear from map 17 that most rooms were still paying about 8 merks of butter to Thomas Mouat in 1797, apart from some exceptions - Vellie, North Dale, Hoya, Newgord, Colvadale and Muness which may have had higher penny-ratings. If butter had remained steady then money rents must have been inflated, for the mean total rents shown in Map 20 were higher than they should have been. A merk of 6d land should have paid 96d but there were only 2 rooms on Mouat's estate paying less than 120d (Swinaness and Hoversta).

It is probable that in addition to some increases brought about by distortions of the lispund and its conversion price, as well as straightforward raising of the money rents, several other items had been added to these rents. As declared in "Vade Mecum" (Appendix 3)

these included "grassums" and some feu duties.

As with skatt one can see no apparent adjustment of rents to the conditions of the eighteenth century tenant, although rents were, perhaps, originally calculated with regard to the nature and volume of production from different areas of the island. By 1797 we find extraordinary anomolies, for example the three very similar and adjacent farms of Hoversta, Mailand and Murrister, all enclosed by the same hill dyke though in two separate scattalds. Looking at these farms today one can see no reason why they should each have paid a different total rent per merk (Map 20), nor why Mailand should pay the top rate in Money and Hoversta the bottom rate, when both paid the same butter rent.

The fluctuations in money rent are probably also linked to whether or not the tenant had the obligation to fish. As Edmondston noted (1809,) ~~see p.179 above)~~ the rent was raised if a tenant were "free" rather than "fishing".

As a final illustration of the confused state of land payments in this period, map 21 shows the value of skatt as a percentage of rent. The skatt of a 6d merk should have been between 11% and 14% of the rents (14d to 17d skatt and 115d rent) but in fact there were many cases where it was proportionally lower (e.g. Wadbister, Muness, Sotland) and many more where it was higher, notably in Cliff, Houlland, Swinaness, Clugon, Hoversta and Snabrough.

As the reader will have guessed, the main points about both the skat and the rent in this period were that they were confused, distorted, complicated and above all extremely easy to manipulate in the favour of laird, tacksman or superior.

Chapter 5.7 Tsum Hills

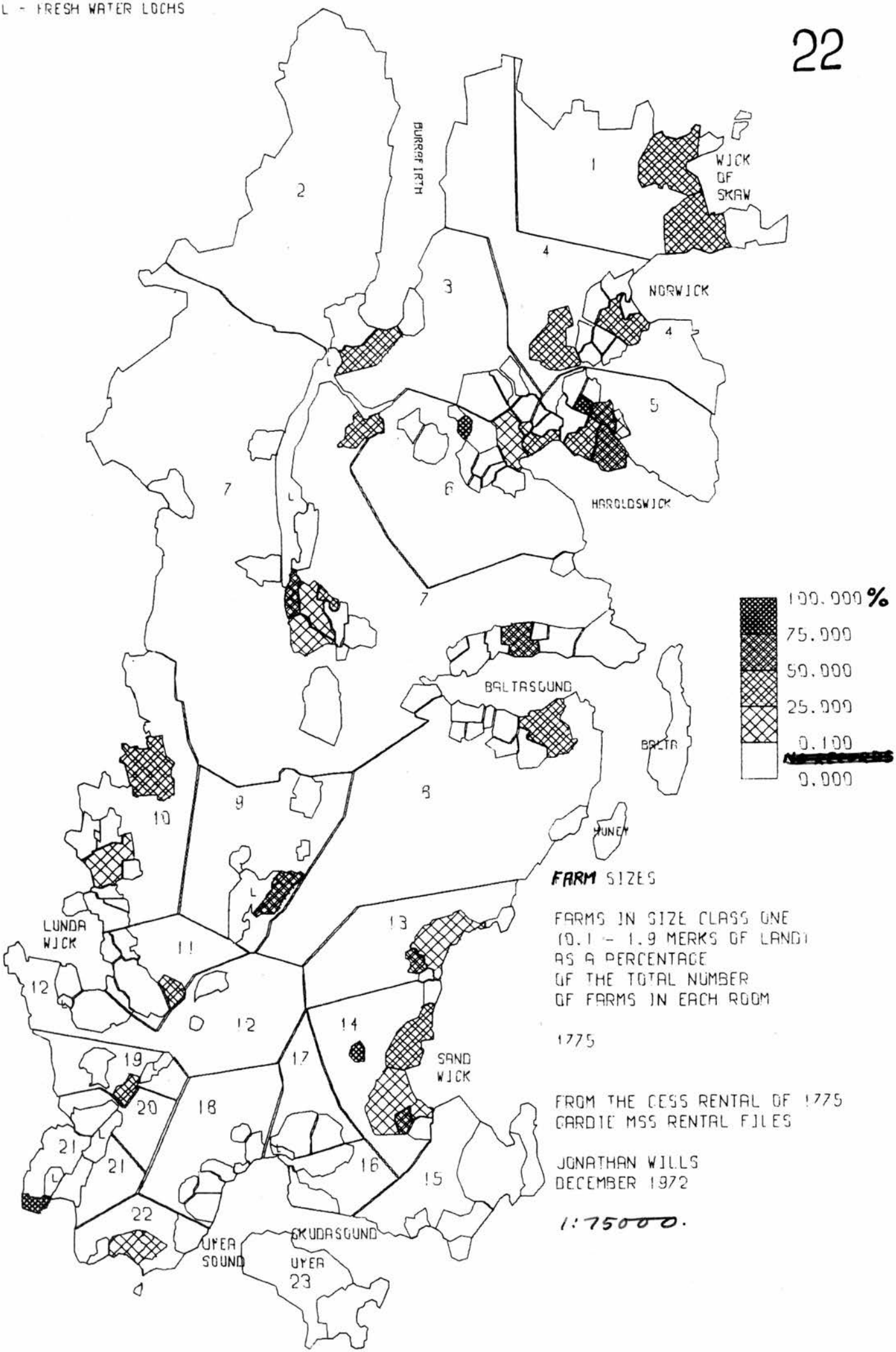
Maps 22 - 26
Graphs 51 - 53

MAP

22

SYMBOLS

L - FRESH WATER LOCHS



FARM SIZES

FARMS IN SIZE CLASS ONE
(0.1 - 1.9 MERKS OF LAND)
AS A PERCENTAGE
OF THE TOTAL NUMBER
OF FARMS IN EACH ROOM

1775

FROM THE CESS RENTAL OF 1775
CARDIE MSS RENTAL FILES

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

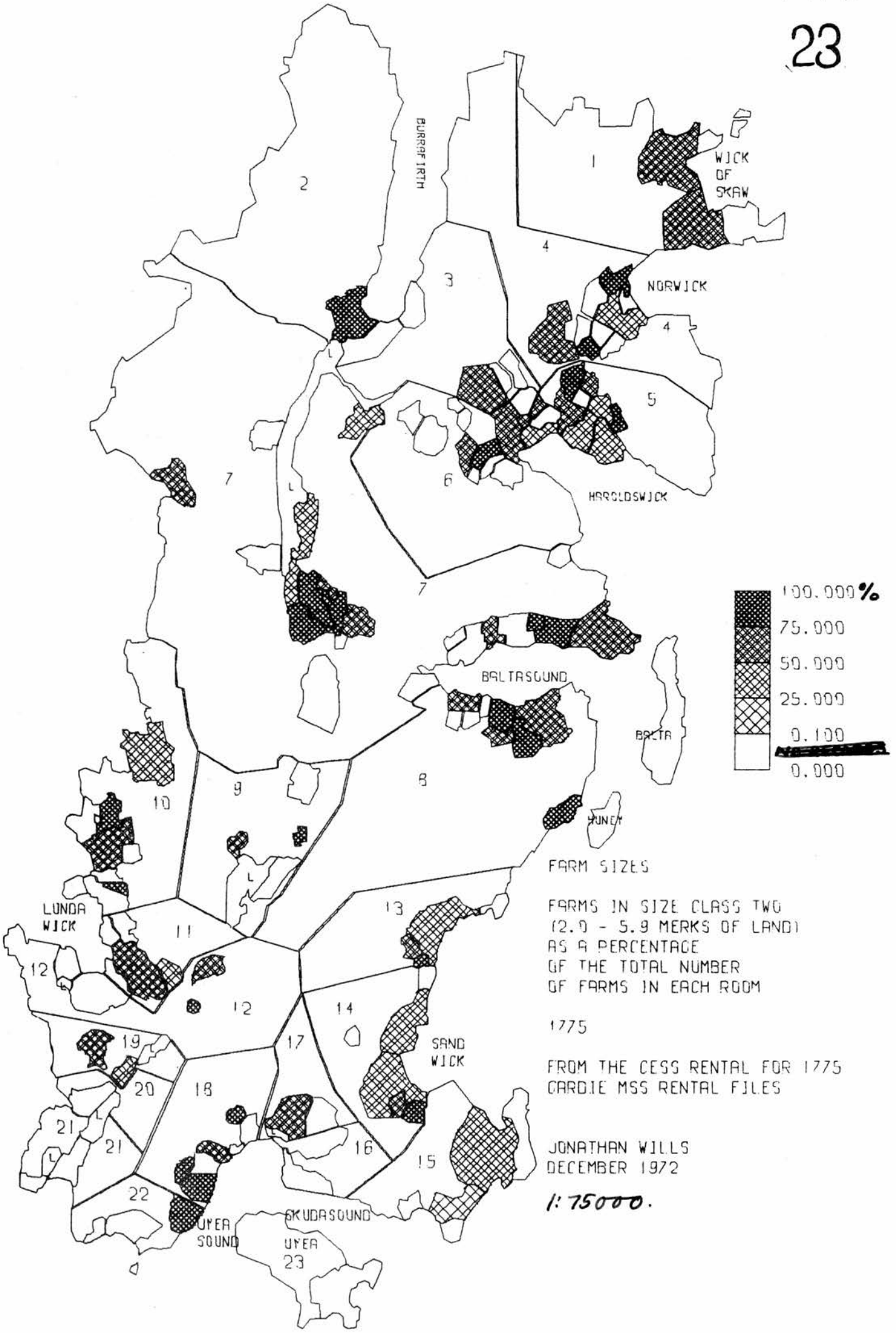
1:75000.

SYMBOLS
L - FRESH WATER LOCHS

306

MAP

23



FARM SIZES

FARMS IN SIZE CLASS TWO
(2.0 - 5.9 MERKS OF LAND)
AS A PERCENTAGE
OF THE TOTAL NUMBER
OF FARMS IN EACH ROOM

1775

FROM THE CESS RENTAL FOR 1775
CARDIE MSS RENTAL FILES

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

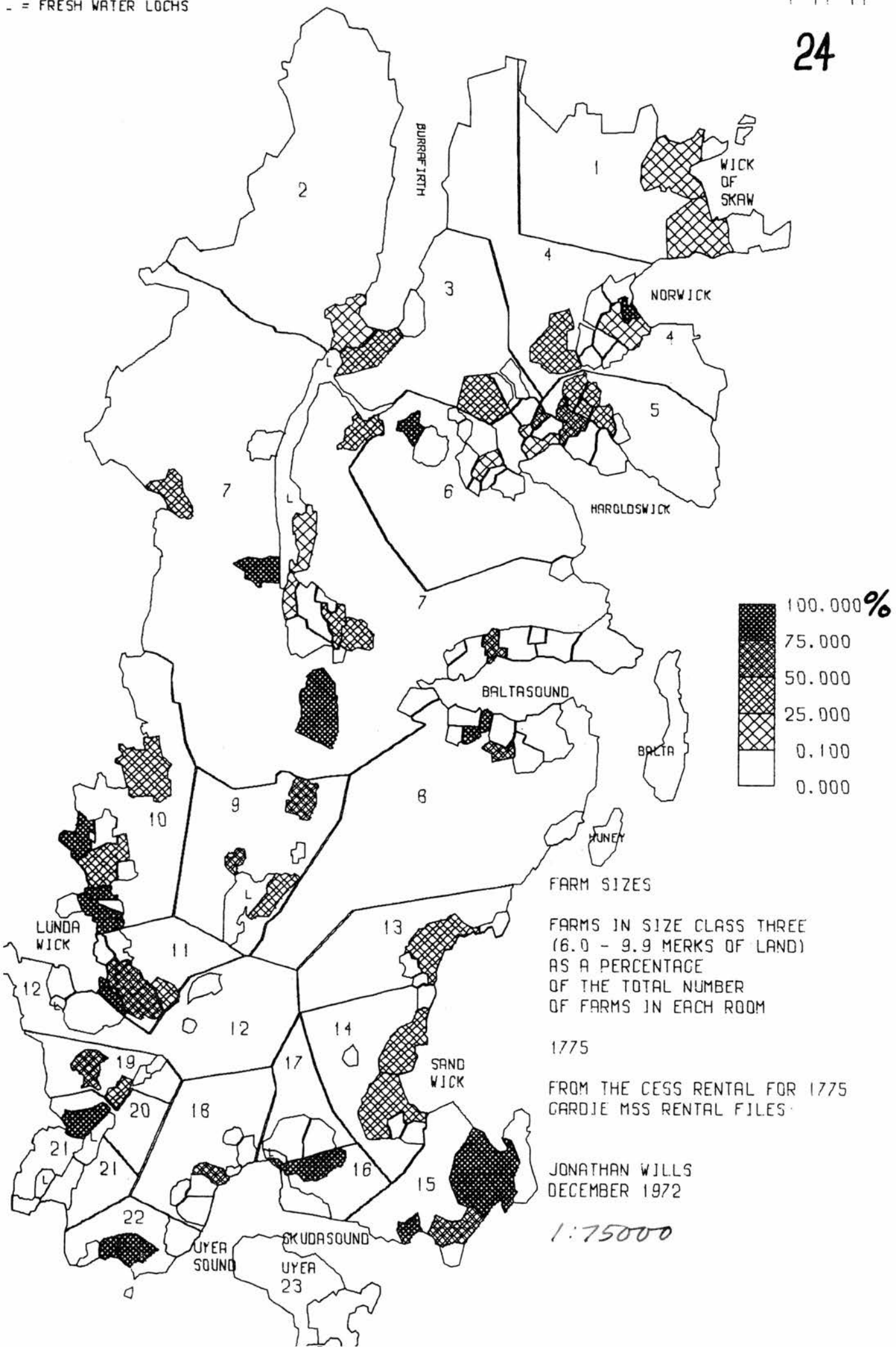
1:75000.

MAP

24

YMBOLS

- = FRESH WATER LOCHS



FARM SIZES

FARMS IN SIZE CLASS THREE
(6.0 - 9.9 MERKS OF LAND)
AS A PERCENTAGE
OF THE TOTAL NUMBER
OF FARMS IN EACH ROOM

1775

FROM THE CESS RENTAL FOR 1775
CARDIE MSS RENTAL FILES

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

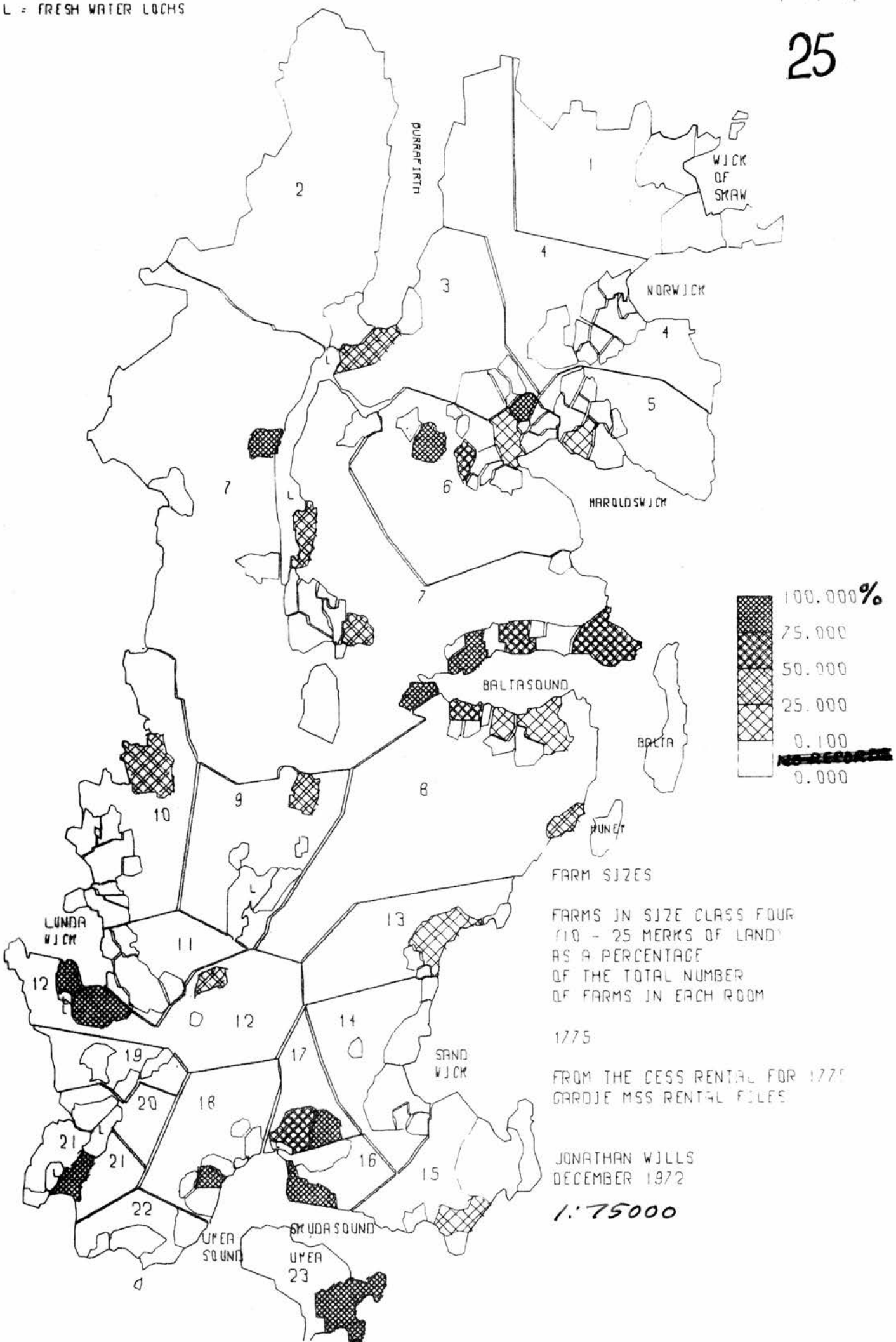
1:75000

MAP

25

SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS



FARM SIZES

FARMS IN SIZE CLASS FOUR
(10 - 25 MERKS OF LAND)
AS A PERCENTAGE
OF THE TOTAL NUMBER
OF FARMS IN EACH ROOM

1775

FROM THE CESS RENTAL FOR 1775
CARDJE MSS RENTAL FILES

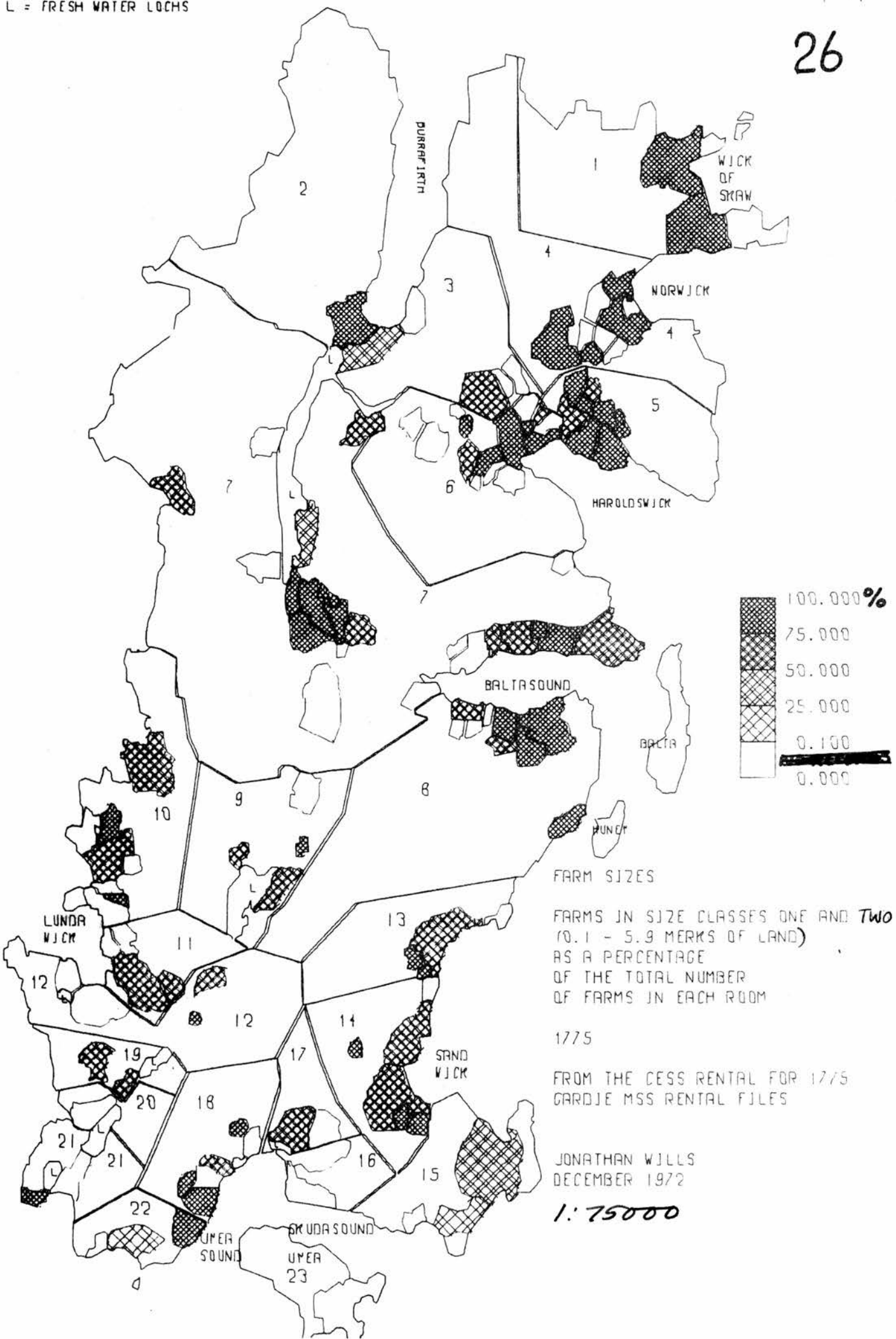
JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

1:75000

26

SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS



FARM SIZES

FARMS IN SIZE CLASSES ONE AND TWO
(0.1 - 5.9 MERKS OF LAND)
AS A PERCENTAGE
OF THE TOTAL NUMBER
OF FARMS IN EACH ROOM

1775

FROM THE CESS RENTAL FOR 1775
CARDJE MSS RENTAL FILES

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

1:75000

SCALE DIGRAM FOR GRAPH 51

Graph 51 shows the number of farms listed in the sample rentals, distributed in 24 size classes at intervals of one merk of land.

The number of farms in each class for each year is expressed as a percentage of the total number of farms listed in the sample rental for that particular year.

Therefore each line in the series for each sample rental represents the farm size distribution for that sample for the year identified on the right hand side of the line.

So for each year the vertical and horizontal scales are as follows_

Vertical Scale

50 per cent of the total number of farms in the sample

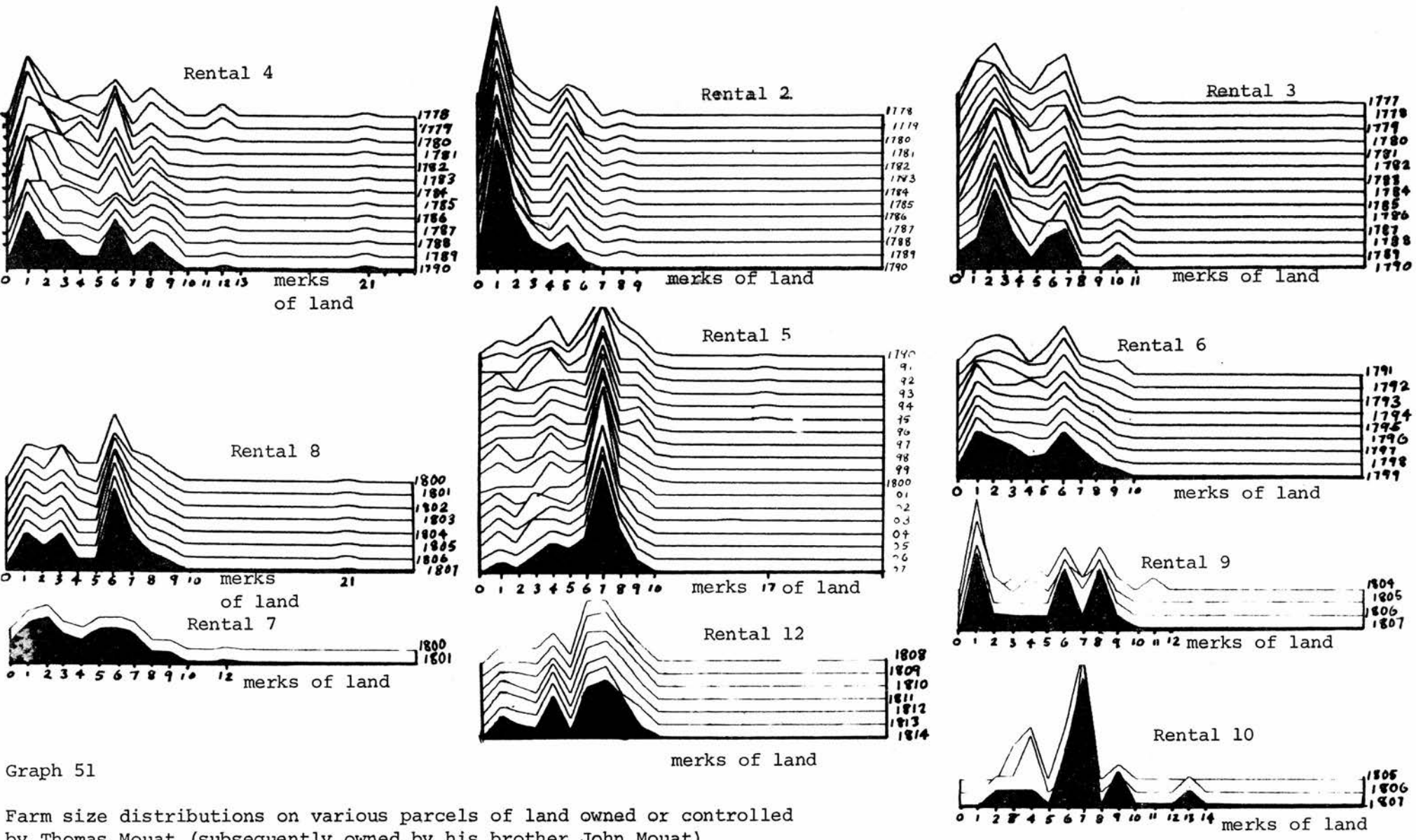
25 per cent

0 per cent

farm size classes at one merk intervals

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10.....24 merks of land

Horizontal Scale



Graph 51

Farm size distributions on various parcels of land owned or controlled by Thomas Mouat (subsequently owned by his brother John Mouat)
1777 - 1821
NB The lands were rentalled separately according to the manner and time of their acquisition - inherited, purchased or rented lands.

For descriptions of each rental block see facing page key.

FOR VERTICAL SCALE SEE KEY ON FACING PAGE. Profile lines show the percentage distribution of all the farms in each size class, at one merk of land intervals.

Graph 51 311

FARM SIZE DISTRIBUTIONS IN UNST

KEY TO GRAPH 51

Sample Rental numbers

Rental 1 — James Henderson of Gardie's lands
1777 and 1778
7 farms in 1777
(sample too small to be significant - not shown here)

Rental 2 — Lands rented by Thomas Mouat from various owners
1778-1790
34 farms in 1778

Rental 3 — Thomas Mouat's paternal lands
1777-1790
54 farms in 1777

Rental 4 — Robert Hunter of Lunna's lands
1778-1790
37 farms in 1778

Rental 5 — Lands of the Westshore estate bought by Thomas Mouat
1790-1802
48 farms in 1790

Rental 6 — All Thomas Mouat's lands in Unst
1791-1799
97 farms in 1791

Rental 7 — Thomas Mouat's north parish lands in Unst
1800 and 1801
50 farms in 1801

Rental 8 — Thomas Mouat's mid and south parish lands in Unst
1800-1807
47 farms in 1800

Rental 9 — Lands of the Buness estate bought by Thomas Mouat
1804-1807
19 farms in 1804

Rental 10 — Thomas Mouat's lands in Baliasta, Woodwick, Cliff and Houlland
1806 and 1807
16 farms in 1806

Rental 11 — John Mouat's lands
1821
159 farms

Rental 12 — All Thomas Mouat's lands
1808-1814
91 farms in 1808

Chapter 5:7. Farm Sizes

One of the strongest traditions about the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Shetland is that the lairds deliberately subdivided farms to accommodate more tenants and "breed" more fishermen. The evidence used so far has come entirely from secondary sources - comments by contemporary writers on what they saw, or thought they saw, happening around them. Nearly all the ministers described this subdivision in their Statistical Accounts. Recent writers have emphasised the agricultural manifestations of this process. For example Donaldson (1958) says

> "In working the land, 17th century Shetlanders were not dependent on the spade, but used ploughs ... If the plough was thus in general use in those days, it became less practicable in the 18th and 19th centuries, with the subdivision of holdings and the prevailing practice came to be to turn over the small cultivated strips of land with the spade." (op.cit. 35,36)

O'Dell drew the conclusion that the subdivision resulted in the islands being unable to produce enough cereals, whereas the evidence from Mentieth in 1684 and Brand in 1700 is that the islands were never self-sufficient in cereals even before subdivisions took place on a large scale.

No attempt has hitherto been made to analyse farm sizes from the one primary source - the lairds' rentals. Indeed, Goodlad (1971) suggests that " ... there is no accurate record of the number of holdings ... " (op.cit.99). Perhaps the most detailed continuous record of farm sizes is to be found in Thomas Mouat's produce rentals for 1777-1814, together with a Cess rental for Unst in 1775 and a valuation rental for John Mouat's lands in 1821.

Produce rentals differ from valuation rentals in that they recorded what each tenant paid for his farm each year, not merely what he was supposed to pay; farm sizes are given in great detail - within

one ure or one-eighth of a merk (usually about 1/5 of an acre of land within the hill-dykes). Granting that the extent of the merk is not exactly ascertainable, and that each 'farm' consisted of a number of parcels of land distributed throughout the township; but if we assume (as the lairds and tenants did) that a merk is a rough indicator of a piece of land of a certain value (although indeterminate in area and quality), the rentals can be used to investigate the fluctuations in farm sizes.

The data has been analysed for each year for which there is an extant produce rental. The sample size, in number of farms and number of merks, varied from year to year as the estate grew in overall size and as parts of it were sub-let to tacksmen, and so not rentalled like the parts under direct factorial control. In general the sample included the vast majority of Mouat's Unst lands, which by 1803 made up over half of the island and occurred throughout Unst in a fairly random distribution. As a check on the data the farm size distributions of ley lands have also been analysed (graphs 52 and 53) although there are limitations here also -(see chapter 5:8 below.)

A problem arises from the fact that the population of farms in the rentals varied from year to year, not only in numbers and sizes, but also according to the manner in which they were acquired. Thus Thomas Mouat's Paternal lands were rentalled separately from those he rented from others; new acquisitions such as the Muness and Buness lands were also rentalled separately, and blocks of land were sometimes lumped together in a new rental after a period of years. Thus rental (9) is for all Mouat's lands, including paternal, purchased and rented parts of the estate. Rentals could also be split up - as in 1800 when the north parish lands were rentalled separately from the rest.

The result is that there is no way of analysing farm size distributions for a stable population of farms over a long period of time. We must make do with short runs of data for 12 different populations, with as many as three different rental samples for any one year (Graph 51).

It is immediately clear from the graphs that Mouat started out with an estate (3) which was composed of predominantly small farms - 2-3 merks being most common, followed by 6-7 merks; as in all the other samples, nearly all the farms were smaller than 10 merks.

This basic collection was augmented by the tack of various other heritor's farms (2), most of which were very small indeed, less than 2 merks; . Robert Hunter's lands (4) had a wider size -distribution, with minor peaks at 1, 6 and 8 merks.

The Muness estate (5) bought in 1789, was quite different in character, predominantly composed of 6-8 merks farms, contrasting with the rest of Mouat's estate (6) which by then showed a broad distribution of sizes with peaks at 1 and 6 merks.

These two populations, (5) and (6), were amalgamated in the 1808-1814 rentals, together with the 19 farms on the Buness estate (9) which showed a diverse size-range with peaks at 1, 6 and 8 merks. (In general, the smaller the sample population, the more irregular and peaked the distribution.)

From 1814 to 1821 there is an unfortunate gap in the rentals (during Thomas Mouat's old age), but the 1821 stated rental of John Mouat's Unst estate, most of which consisted of Thomas Mouat's lands, shows a pronounced swing to the larger sizes, 6-8 merks.

If all these populations were aggregated there would be very marked apparent changes in size distribution, but most of these

fluctuations are explained by the addition and subtraction of different populations of very diverse size characteristics. The individual samples show quite a small range of variation, but some trends are nonetheless evident.

The Rented Lands (2) show a slight shift to smaller farms, particularly 1 and 2-merk holdings, between 1777 and 1790. In 1784-85 it is noticeable that 1 merk farms increased while 3 and 4-merk farms decreased, yet at the same time 5-merk farms were more numerous. This may reflect the uncertain and changing state of tenancies during this period of dearth.

Paternal lands (3) also show more small farms (2 and 3-merk) in 1783, a year before the very large (9 and 10-merk) farms went up. 4 and 5-merk farms declined in 1787-1788. As with Robert Hunter's lands (4) the tendency in the dearth period is for small fluctuations in size distribution rather than any definite swing to large or small farms.

Both samples (5) and (6) show a slight decline in the number of 8, 9 and 10-merk farms in the 1790's, but again no general shift is evident. The distributions for the Mid and South Parish lands (8) and the North Parish lands (7) show no variation to speak of either, but demonstrate that North Parish farms were generally smaller. The Buness (9) and Baliasta (10) samples are too small for any definite conclusions, but do suggest a very changeable state of tenancies in 1804-1807, the latter part of the second dearth.

It is clear from graph 51 that the process of subdivision noted by contemporary writers had more or less ceased by 1777, and was only occasionally evident in the period of our study. Either the ministers who wrote about the process of subdivision so graphically in their

Statistical Accounts were ~~either~~ describing a trend that had stopped 15 to 20 years previously or else the data examined here does not reveal the true facts. It is quite possible that there was widespread and unrecorded sharing of tenancies that were registered under one name only. The produce rentals do not tell us how many "friends and relations" were crowded onto the farms of Norwick or Muness, or how many "house-folk" or cottars (see chapter 5:1 above) cultivated a small patch of land in the corner of some friendly farmer's holding. The dispersed nature of the rigs belonging to any one farm suggests that this might have been a frequent occurrence (see chapter 5:11 below).

This brief study of the produce rentals suggests that they must be treated with caution as a source of information about farm sizes, but ~~and~~ the general conclusion they do suggest is that the size distribution of farms was remarkably stable considering the unsettled period they cover. They must be amplified and examined by reference to the more detailed information that is available. This means identifying every farmer and his family by name - from the parish records, Thomas Mouat's rentals, the day-books and more fragmentary sources in the manuscripts and then tracing their fortunes over the whole 40-year period. This is a very large and detailed task that the present writer, having carefully examined the data in summary form, does not intend to undertake in this volume. A useful start would be a study of one particular township - Norwick or Muness, being largely owned by one proprietor, would be very suitable - with a view to establishing exactly what did happen to the ordinary tenant and his farm in those very troubled times.

In view of the results of the main analysis, the size distribution data on ley (untenanted) farms is very curious and apparently contradictory. (Graphs 52 and 53). Both the merks of land and the number of farms figures are drawn from the same produce

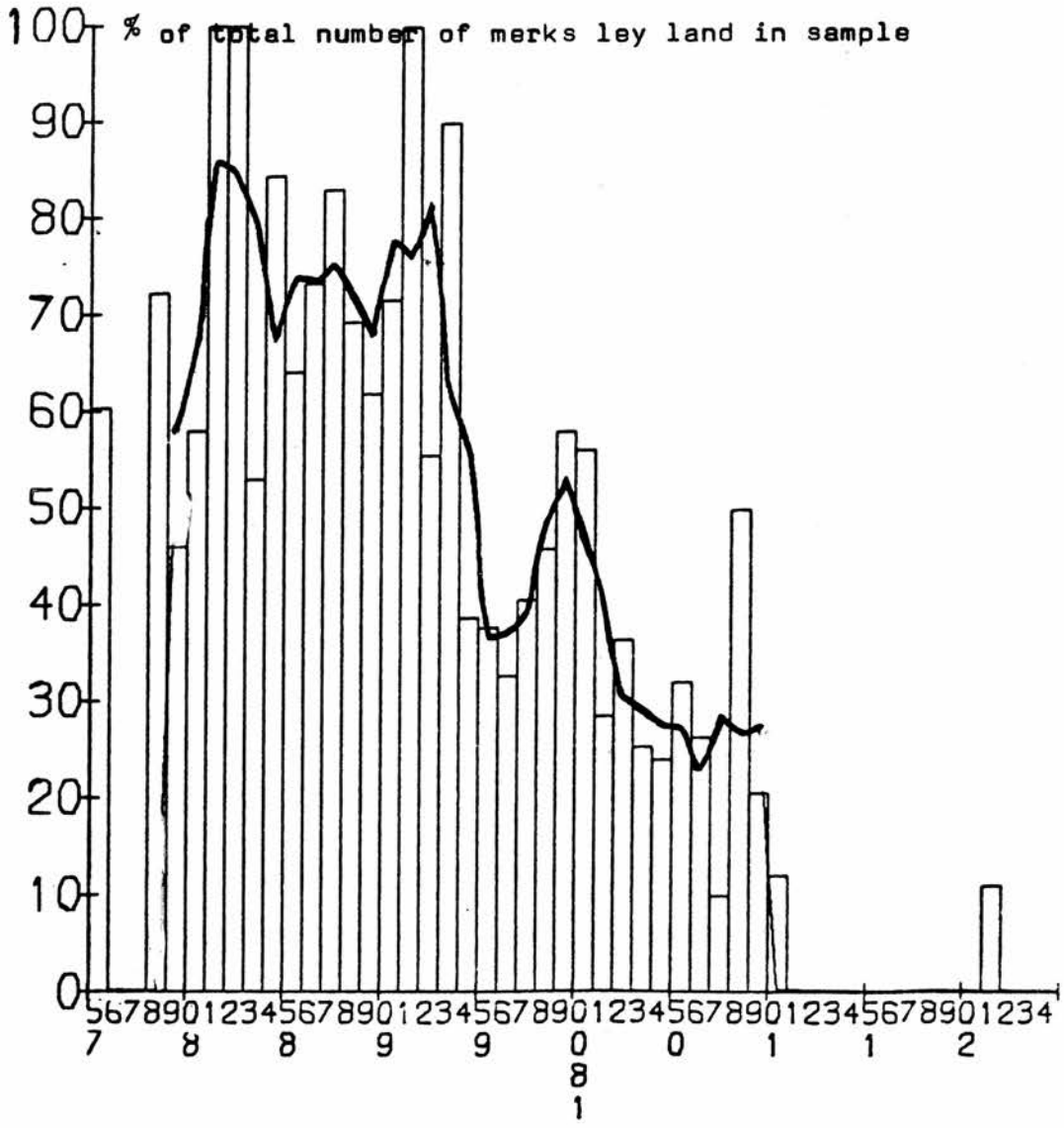
rentals, and suggest quite clearly that after 1804 ley farms became much larger, being mostly in the 6 - 10 merks category. This may to some extent reflect the changes in the nature of the sample; but it is noticeable that at the very time (1804) when the percentage of ley land began to rise rapidly (graph 56), the size of these farms also increased. This suggests a very major dislocation in the agricultural system, if large and (presumably) more prosperous farms, as well as the small tenancies, were going out of cultivation. It is to this problem of ley lands that we now turn in chapter 5:8.

Chapter 518 **Low Islands**

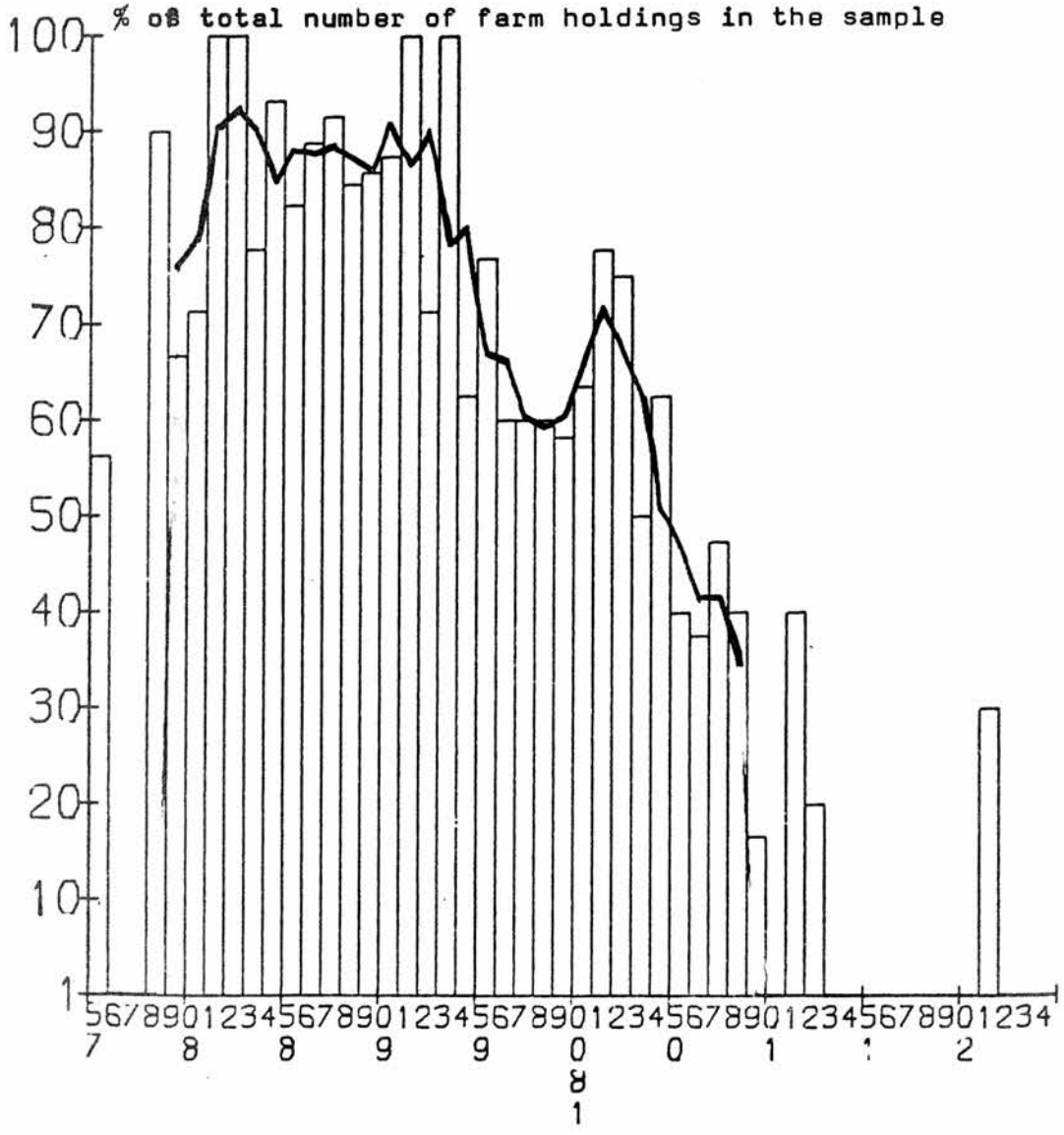
Graphs 54 - 56
Maps 27 - 38

Bar graph Number of merks Ley Land contained in farms smaller than 6 merks, as a percentage of the total number of merks ley land in the sample

Line graph The above as a 3 year running mean

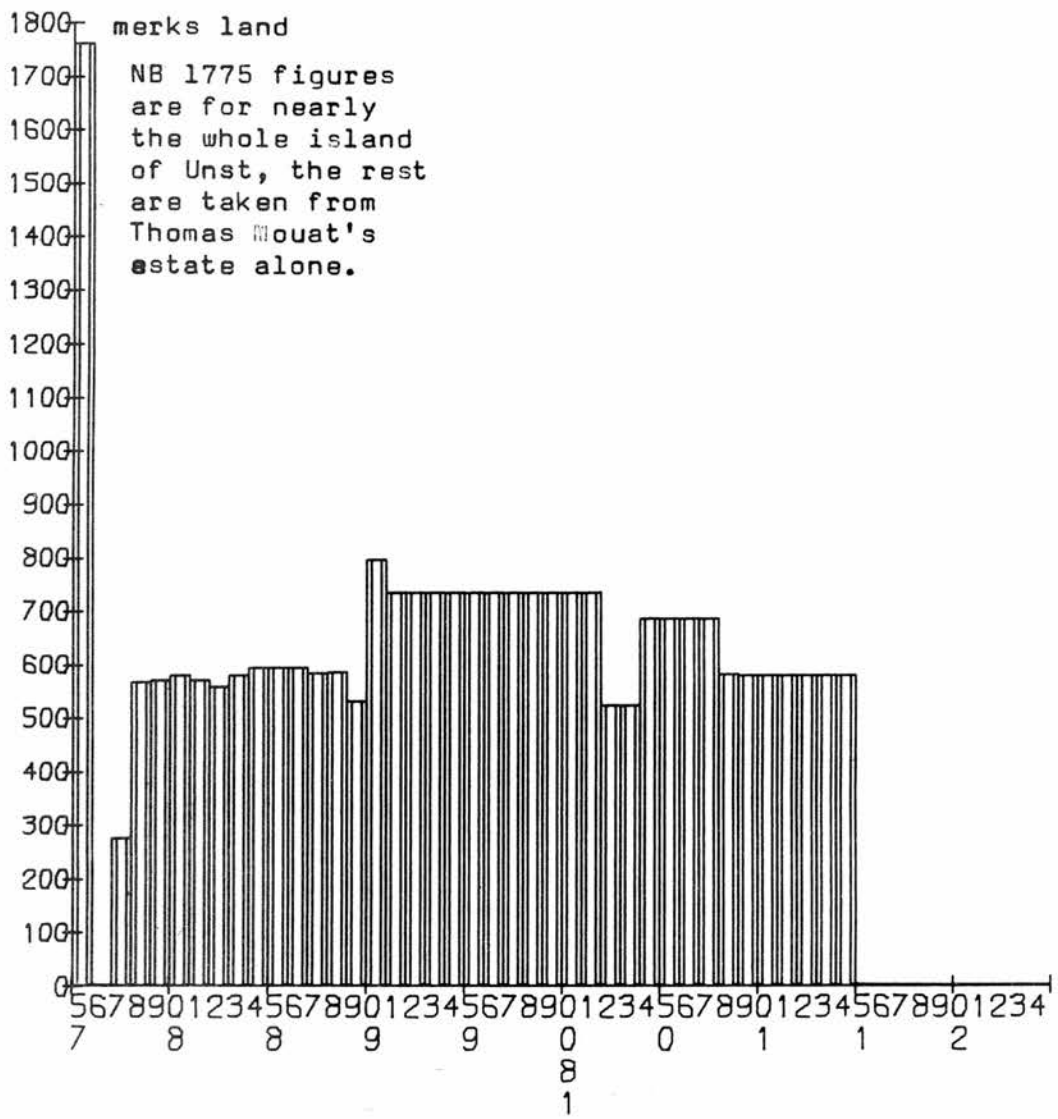


Number of <u>Ley Farm Holdings smaller than 6 merks</u> as a percentage of all ley farm holdings in the sample



Number of merks land in sample taken for analysis of ley lands data, from Thomas Mouat's rentals.

NB Because of annual differences in the format of the rentals, the sample from which the ley land figures are analysed does not vary in proportion to the total number of merks controlled by Thomas Mouat

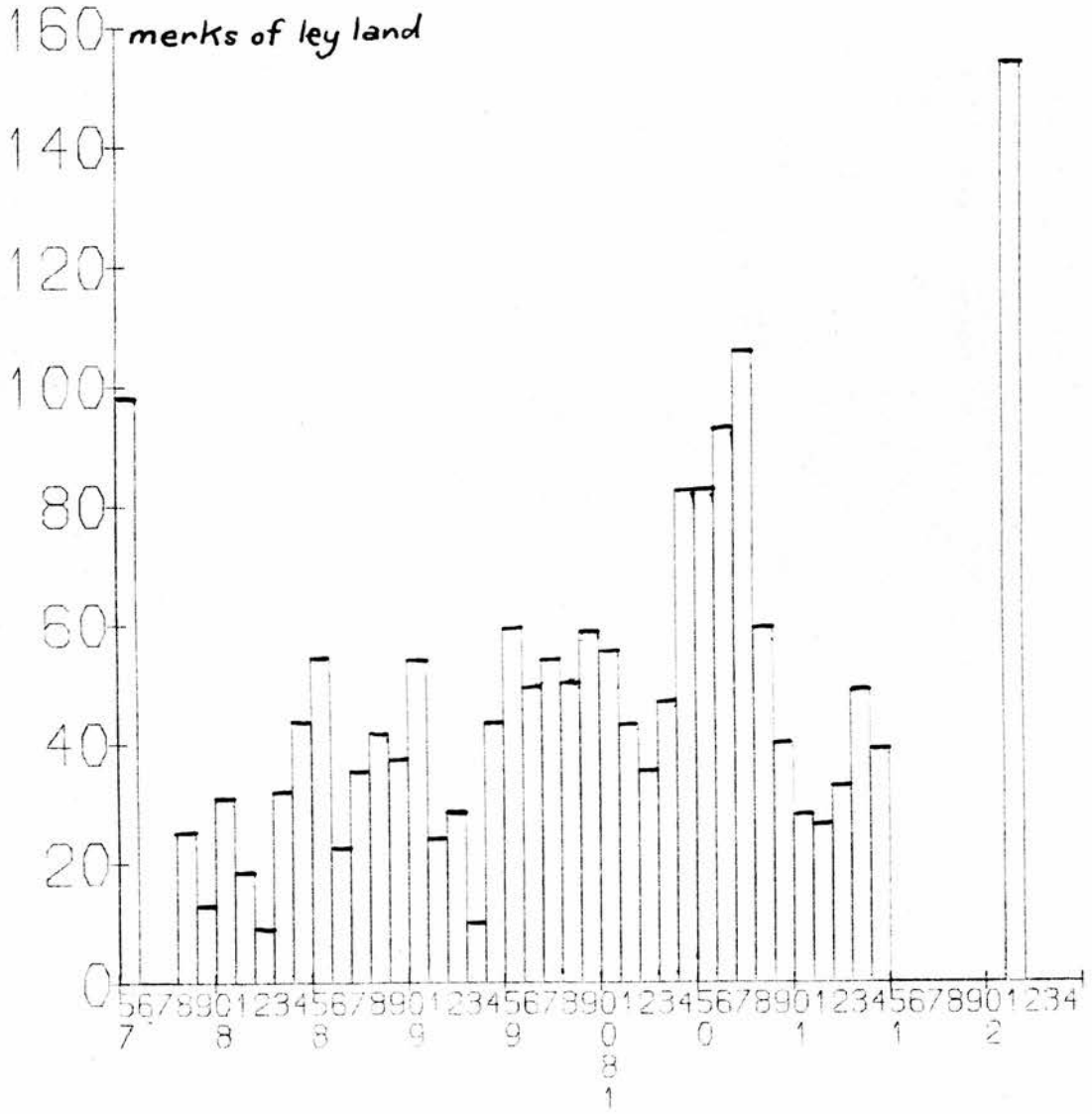


LEY LANDS

The actual number of merks of ley land recorded in a sample of Thomas Mouat's estate

1775 - 1814 & 1821

Sources: Thomas Mouat's Produce Rentals for 1775-1814
John Mouat's stated Rental for 1821.



graph 56

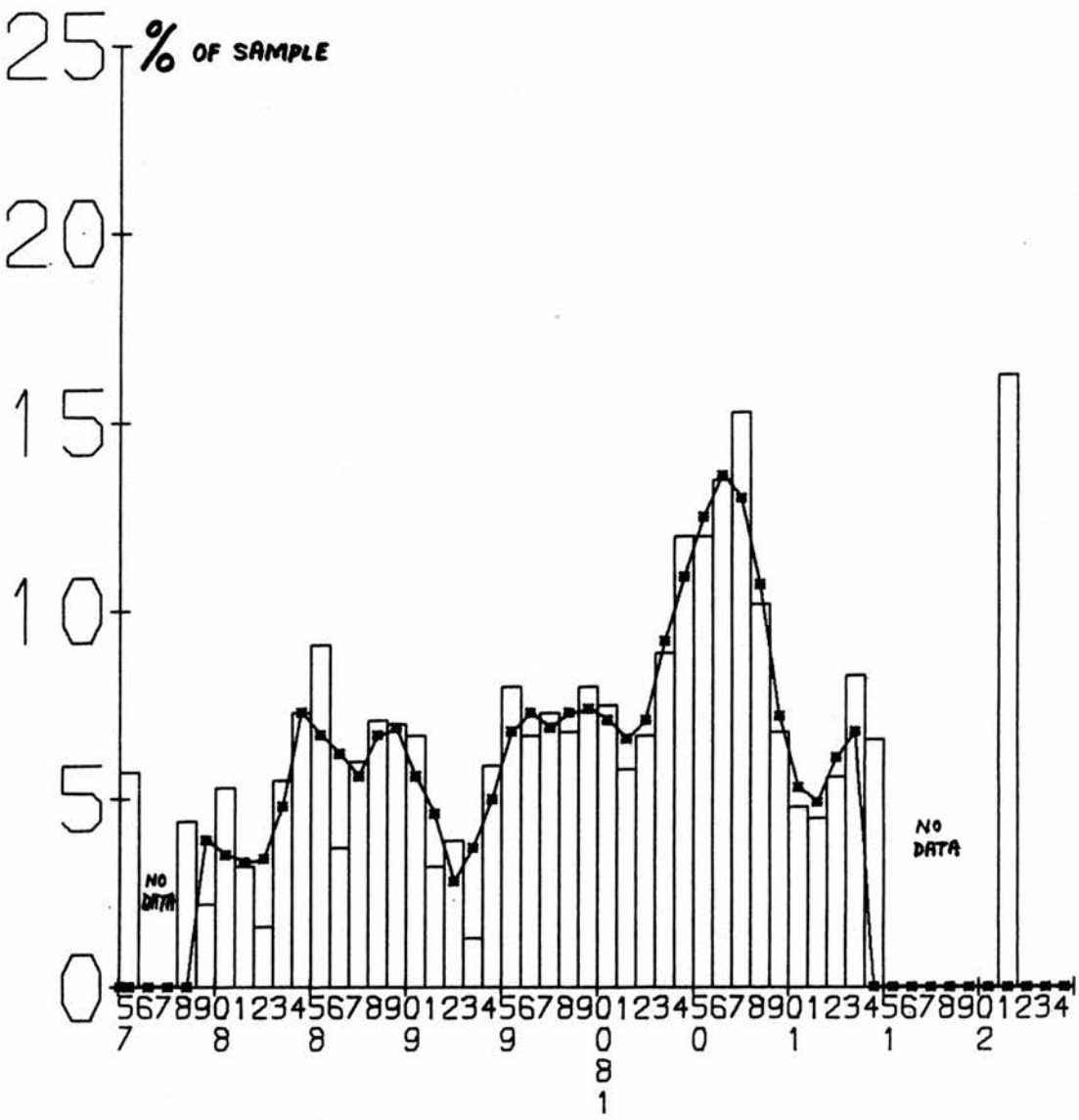
LEY LANDS

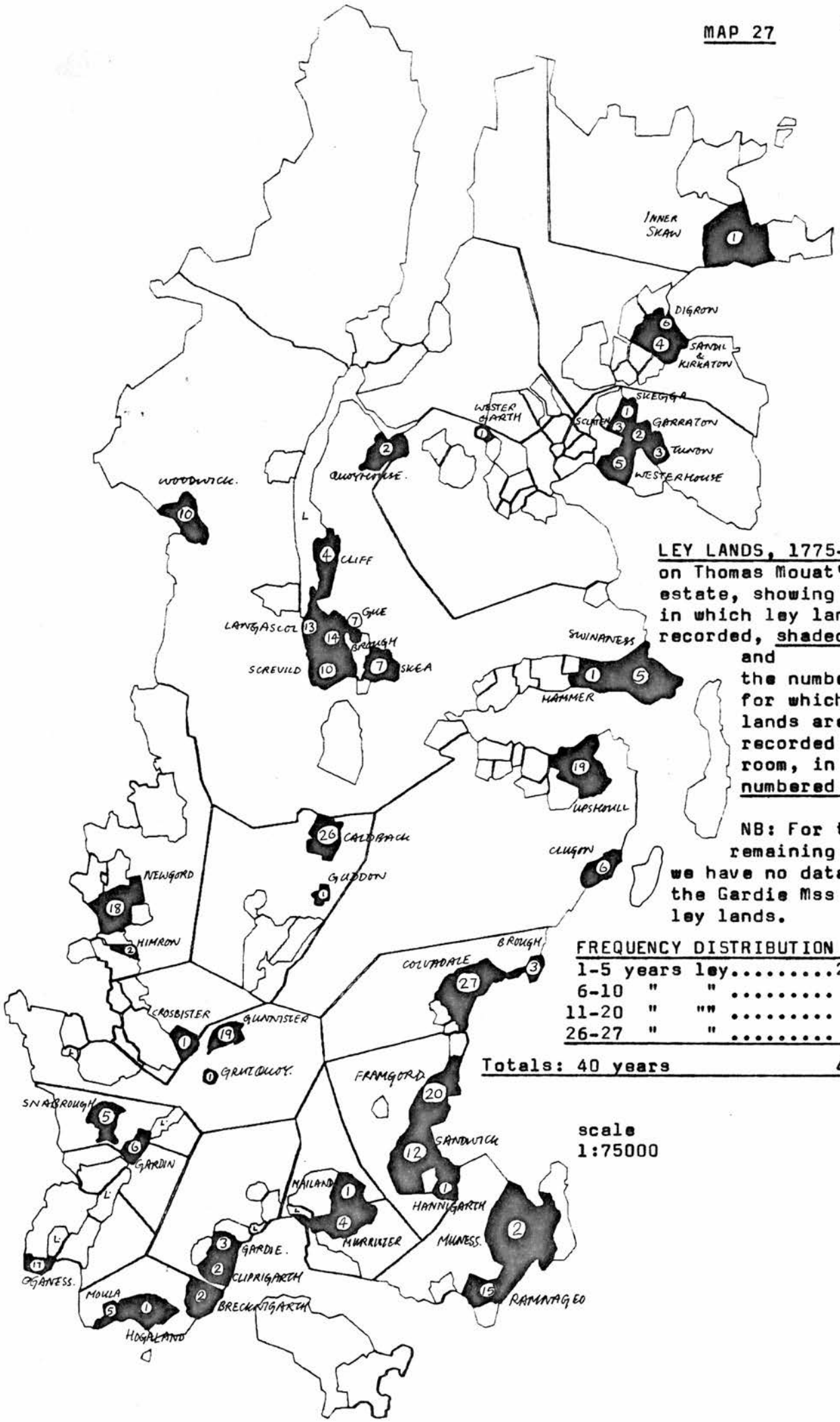
Merks of land lying ley
as a percentage of all the
merks of land in the sample
(see graph 55)

1775 - 1821

Bar graph = crude percentages

Line graph = 3 year running mean





LEY LANDS, 1775-1814
on Thomas Mouat's Unst estate, showing rooms in which ley lands are recorded, shaded black; and the number of years for which ley lands are recorded in each room, in the numbered circles.

NB: For the remaining 85 rooms we have no data from the Gardie Mss about ley lands.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

1-5 years ley.....	27	rooms
6-10 " "	7	"
11-20 " ""	9	"
26-27 " "	2	"

Totals: 40 years 45 rooms

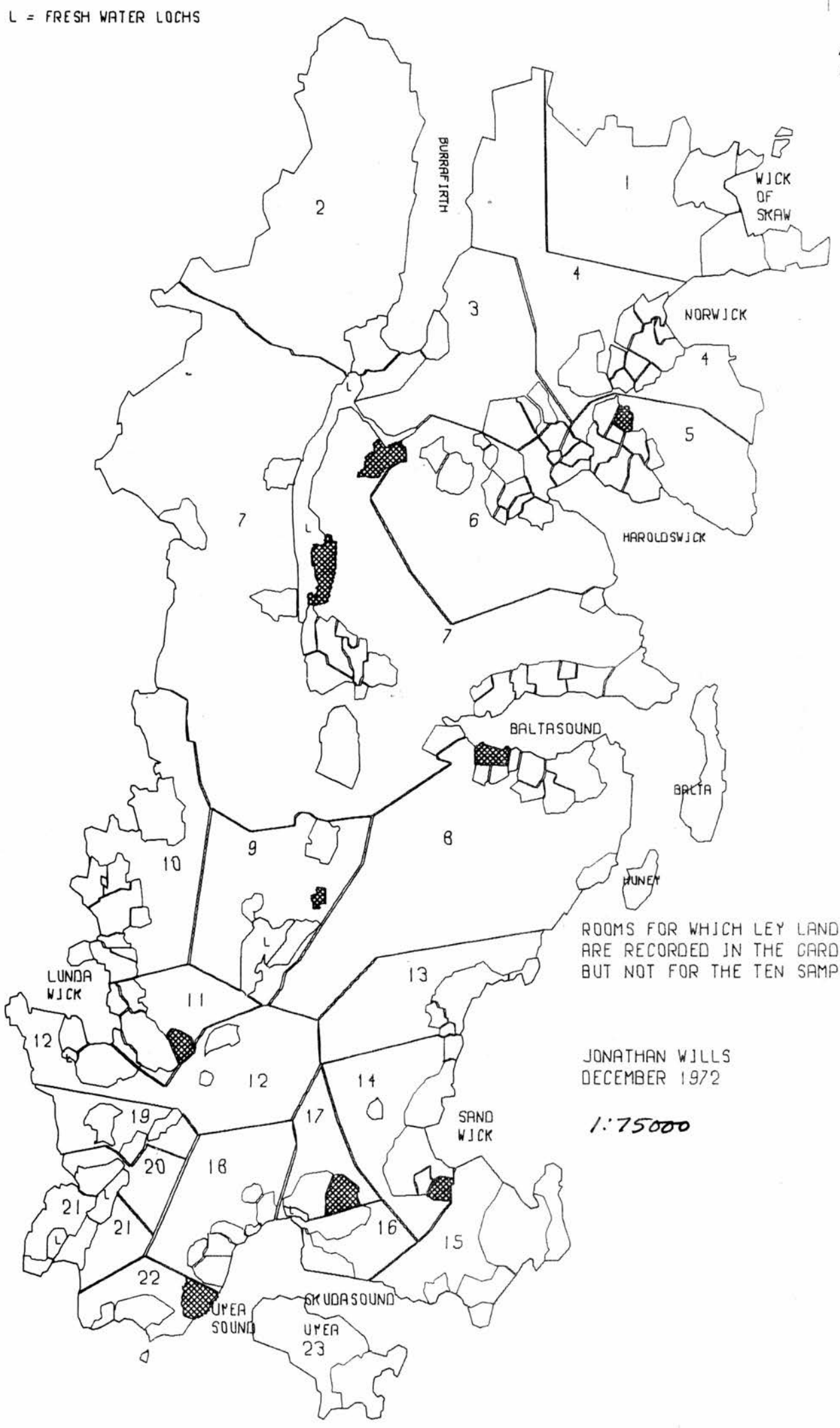
scale 1:75000

MAP

28

SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS



ROOMS FOR WHICH LEY LANDS
ARE RECORDED IN THE CARDJE MSS
BUT NOT FOR THE TEN SAMPLE YEARS

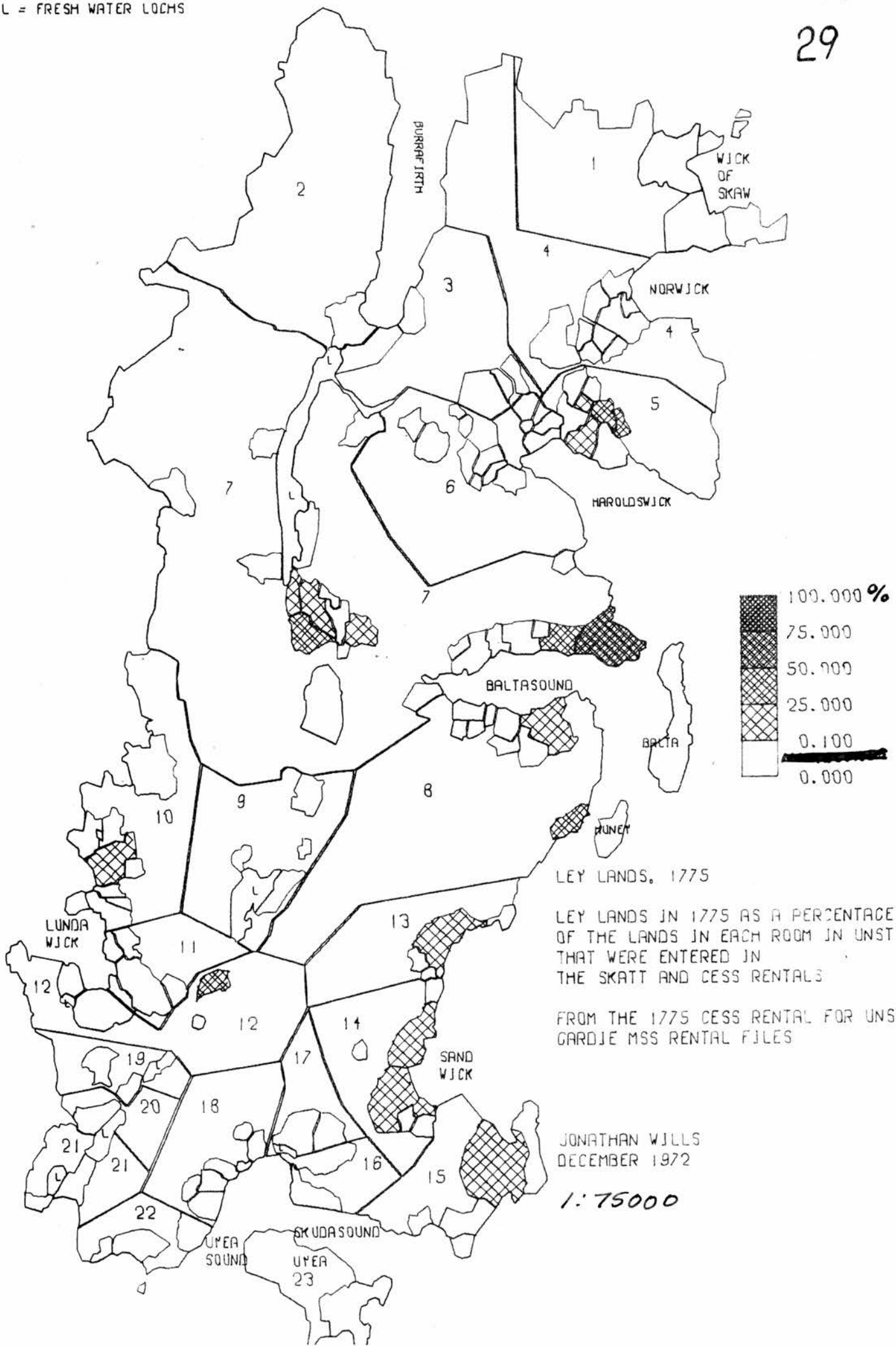
JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

1:75000

SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS

29



LEY LANDS, 1775

LEY LANDS IN 1775 AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE LANDS IN EACH ROOM IN UNST THAT WERE ENTERED IN THE SKATT AND CESS RENTALS

FROM THE 1775 CESS RENTAL FOR UNST
GARDIE MSS RENTAL FILES

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

1:75000

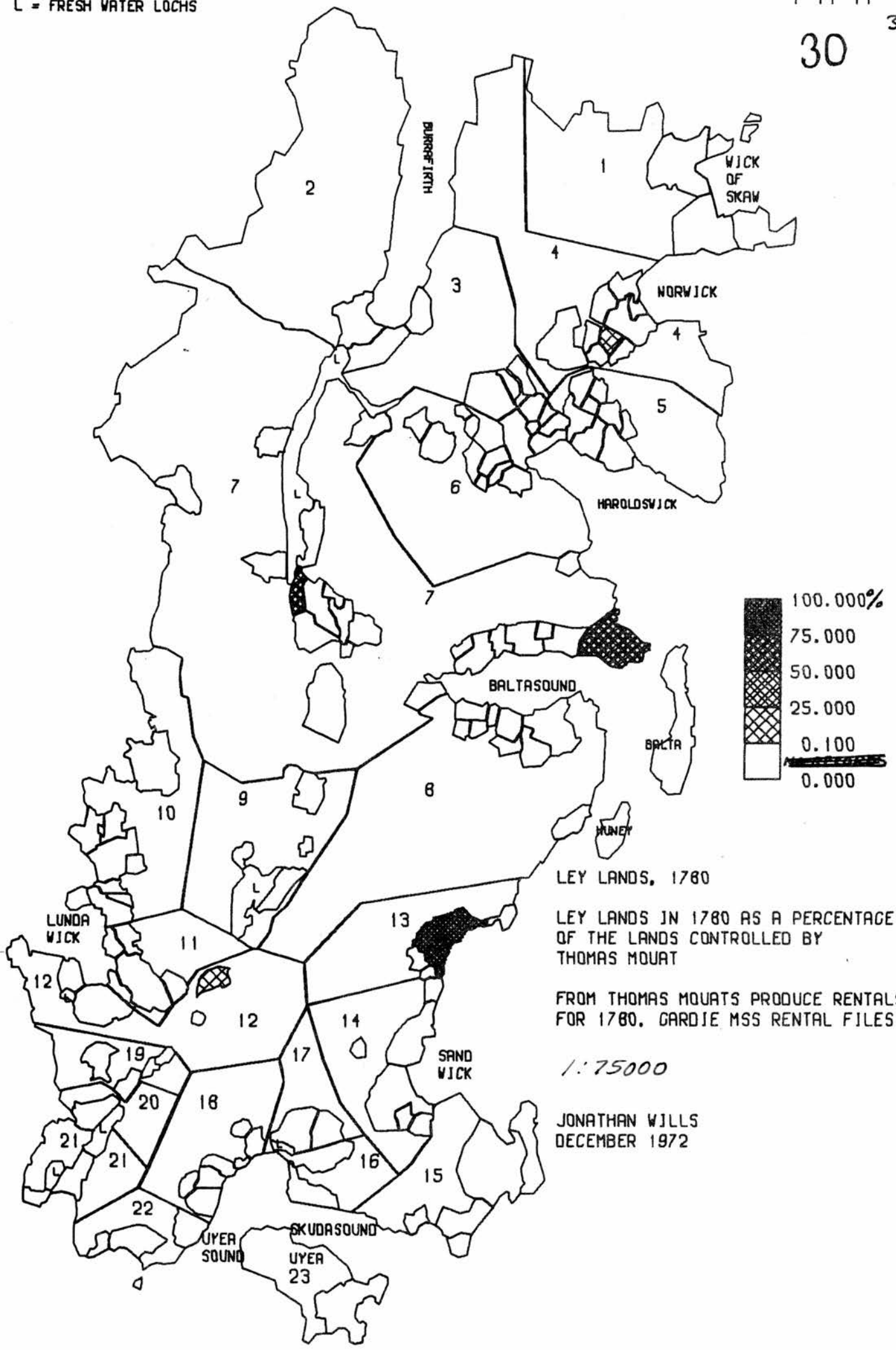
-SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS

MAP

328

30



LEY LANDS, 1760

LEY LANDS IN 1760 AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE LANDS CONTROLLED BY THOMAS MOUAT

FROM THOMAS MOUATS PRODUCE RENTALS FOR 1760. CARDIE MSS RENTAL FILES

1:75000

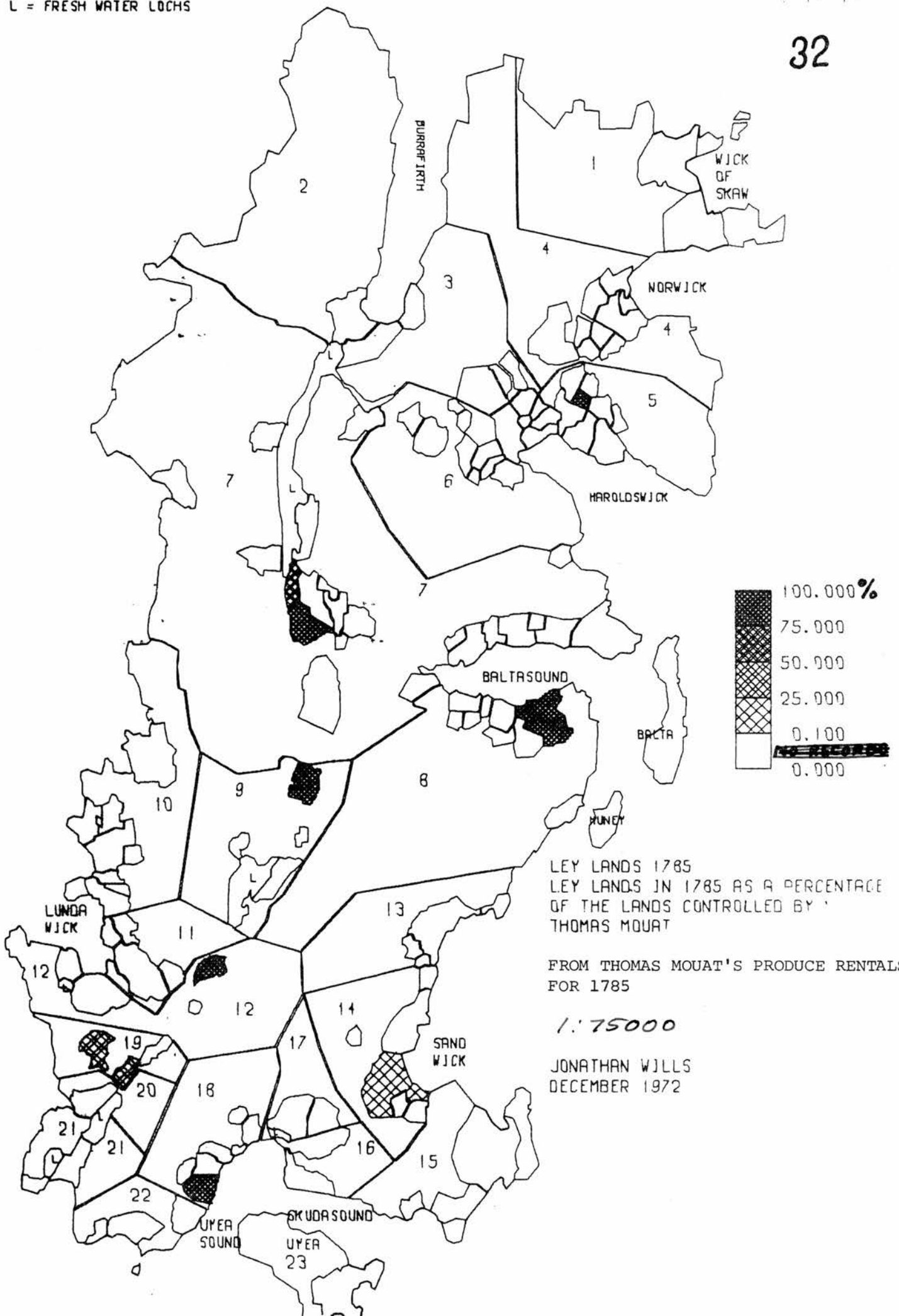
JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

MAP

32

SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS



LEY LANDS 1785
LEY LANDS IN 1785 AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE LANDS CONTROLLED BY THOMAS MOUAT

FROM THOMAS MOUAT'S PRODUCE RENTALS FOR 1785

1:75000

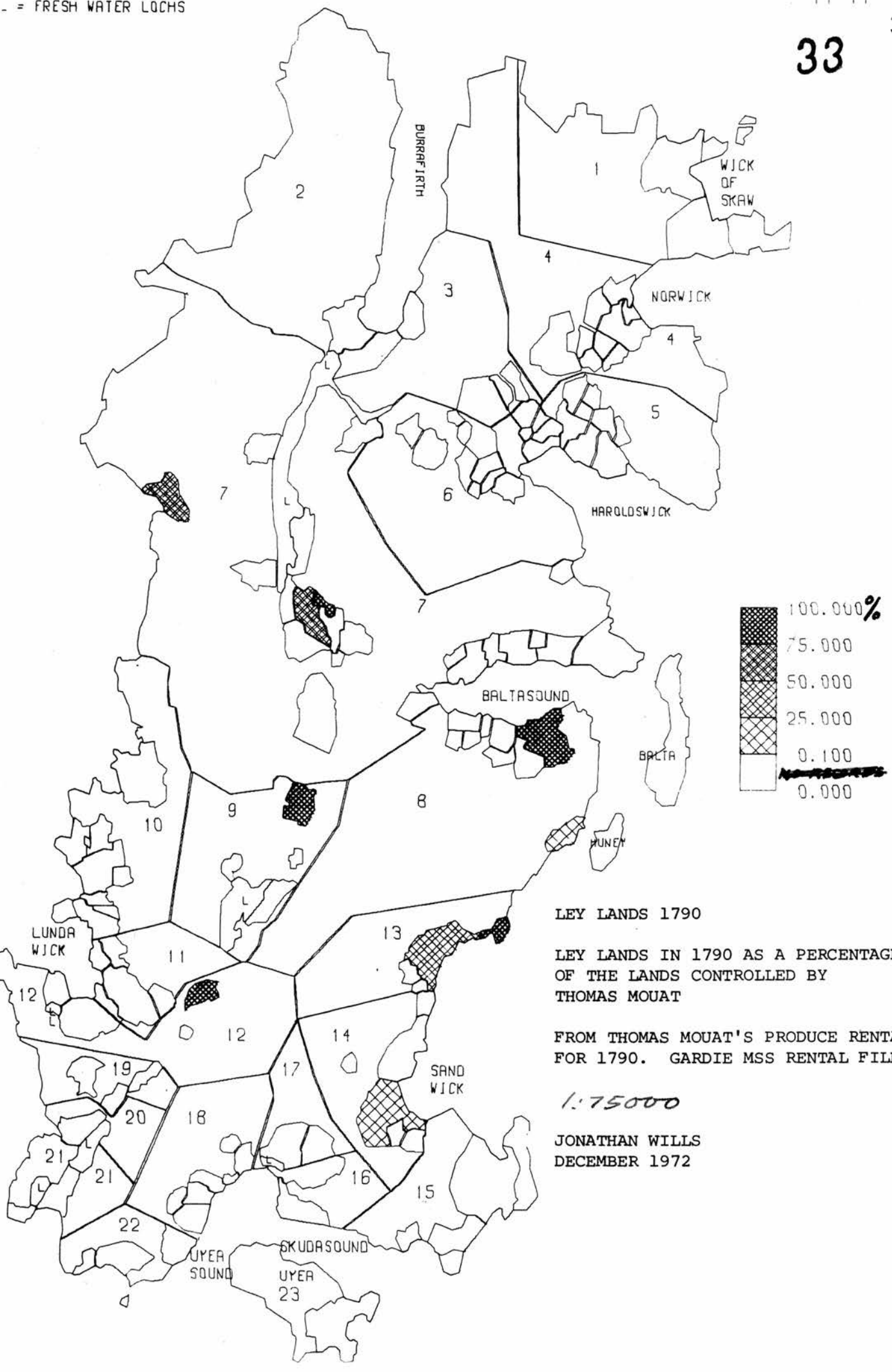
JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

YMBOLS

_ = FRESH WATER LOCHS

330

33



LEY LANDS 1790

LEY LANDS IN 1790 AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE LANDS CONTROLLED BY THOMAS MOUAT

FROM THOMAS MOUAT'S PRODUCE RENTALS FOR 1790. GARDIE MSS RENTAL FILES

1:75000

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

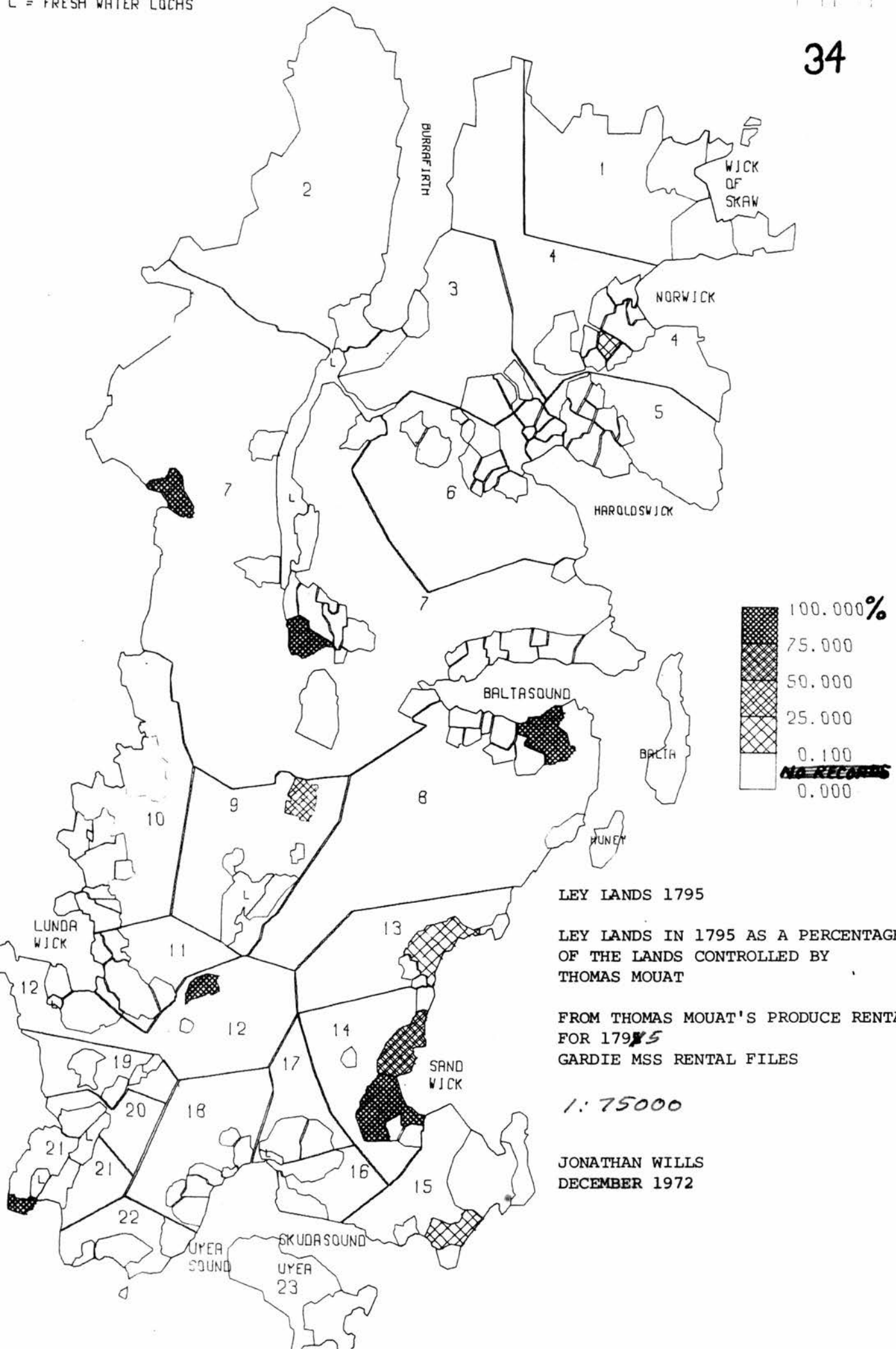
331

MAP

34

YMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS



LEY LANDS 1795

LEY LANDS IN 1795 AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE LANDS CONTROLLED BY THOMAS MOUAT

FROM THOMAS MOUAT'S PRODUCE RENTALS FOR 1795
GARDIE MSS RENTAL FILES

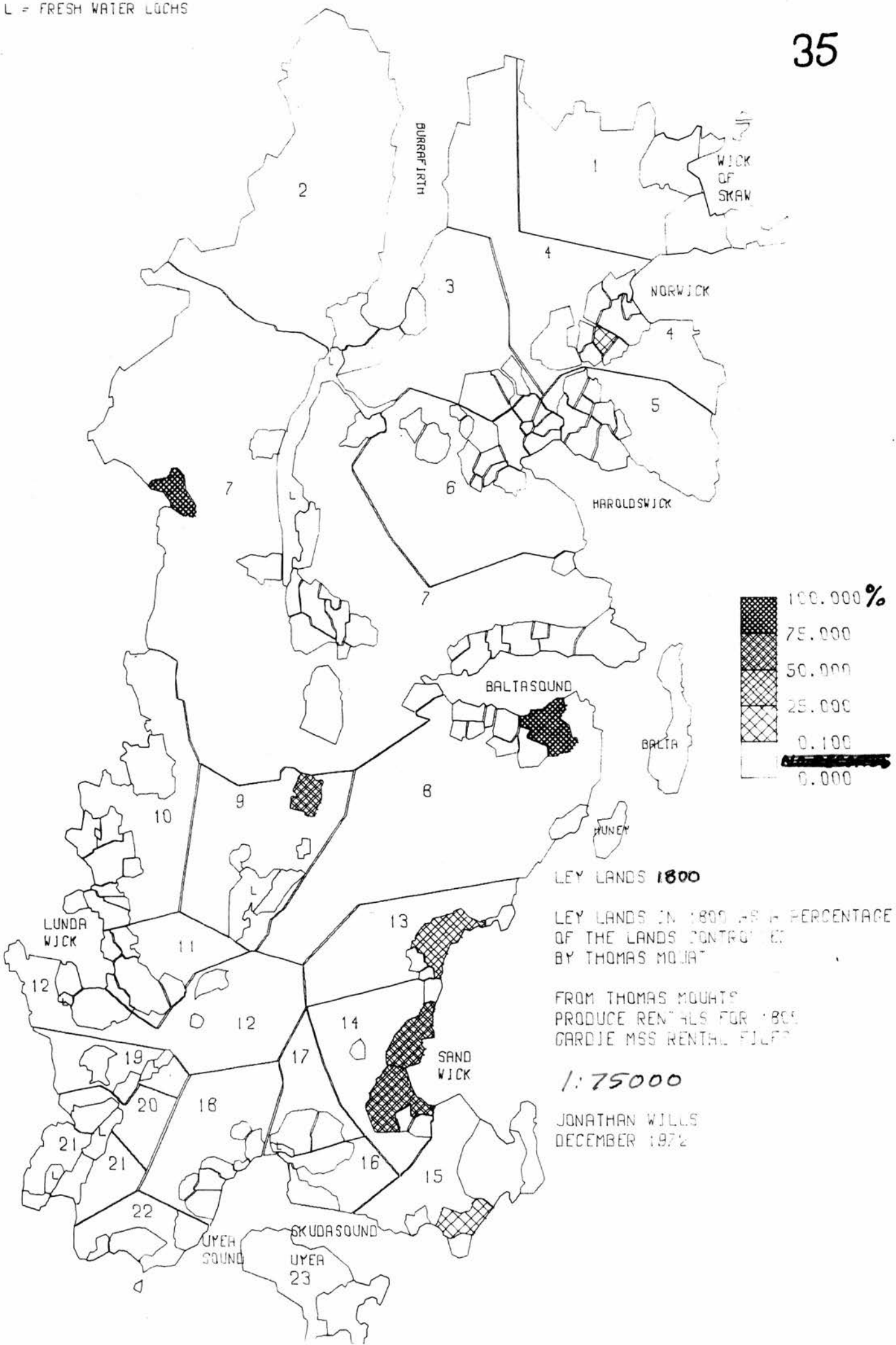
1:75000

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS

35



LEY LANDS 1800

LEY LANDS IN 1800 AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE LANDS CONTROLLED BY THOMAS MOUAT

FROM THOMAS MOUATS PRODUCE RENTALS FOR 1805 CARDIE MSS RENTAL FILES

1:75000

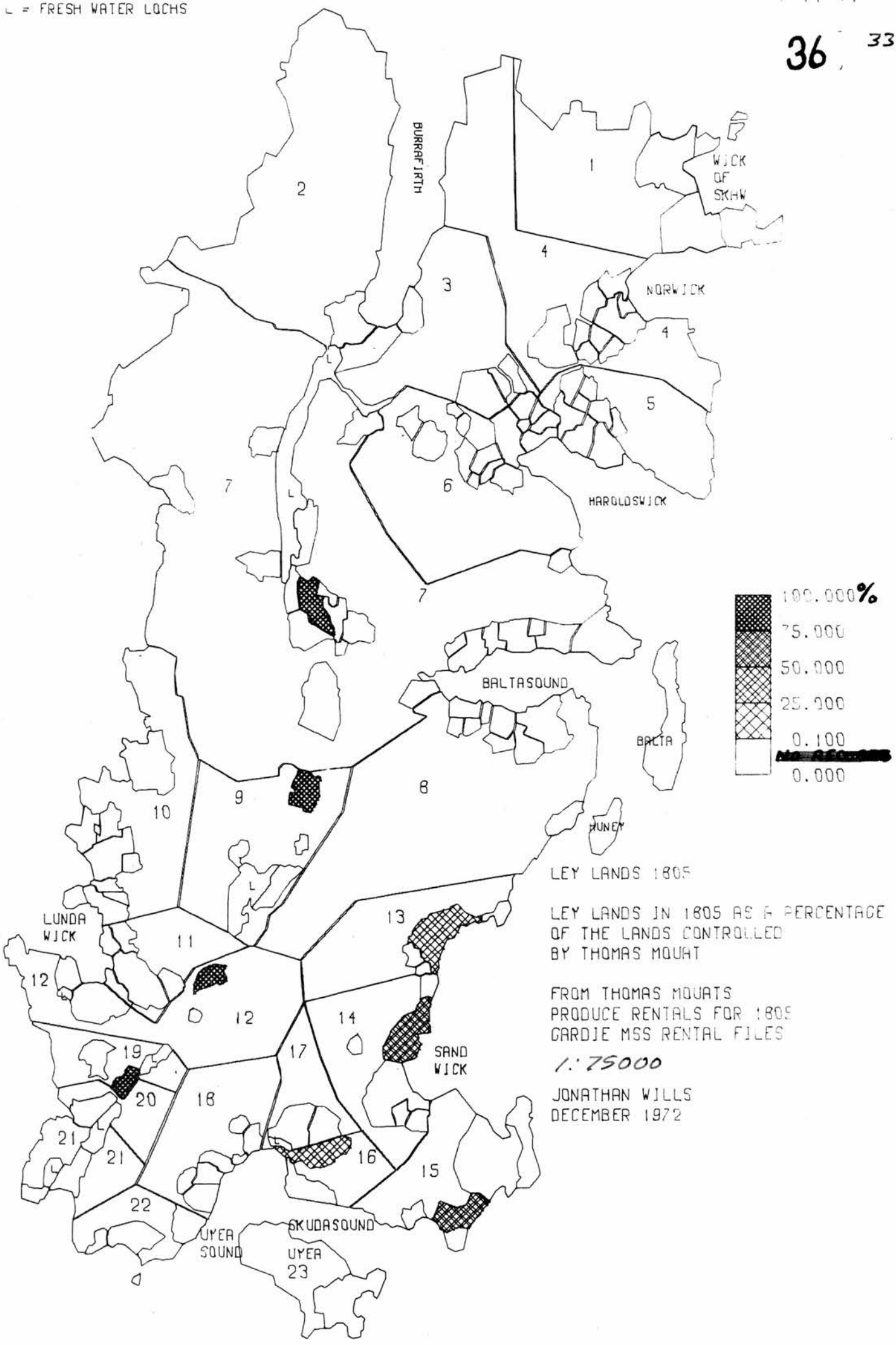
JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

YMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS

MHF

36 333



LEY LANDS 1805

LEY LANDS IN 1805 AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE LANDS CONTROLLED BY THOMAS MOUAT

FROM THOMAS MOUATS PRODUCE RENTALS FOR 1805 CARDIE MSS RENTAL FILES

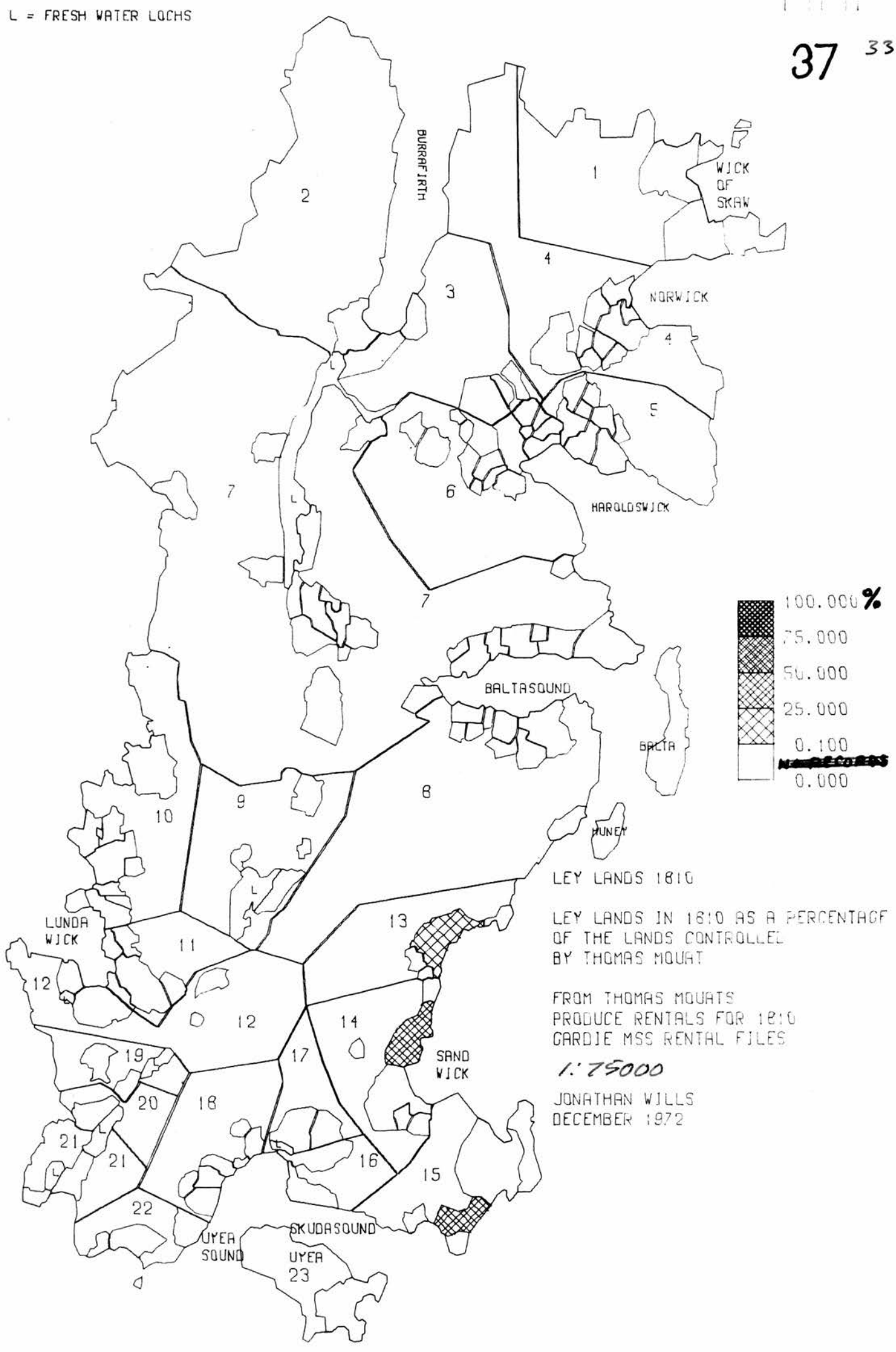
1:75000

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS

37 334



LEY LANDS 1810

LEY LANDS IN 1810 AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE LANDS CONTROLLED BY THOMAS MOUAT

FROM THOMAS MOUATS PRODUCE RENTALS FOR 1810 CARDIE MSS RENTAL FILES

1:75000

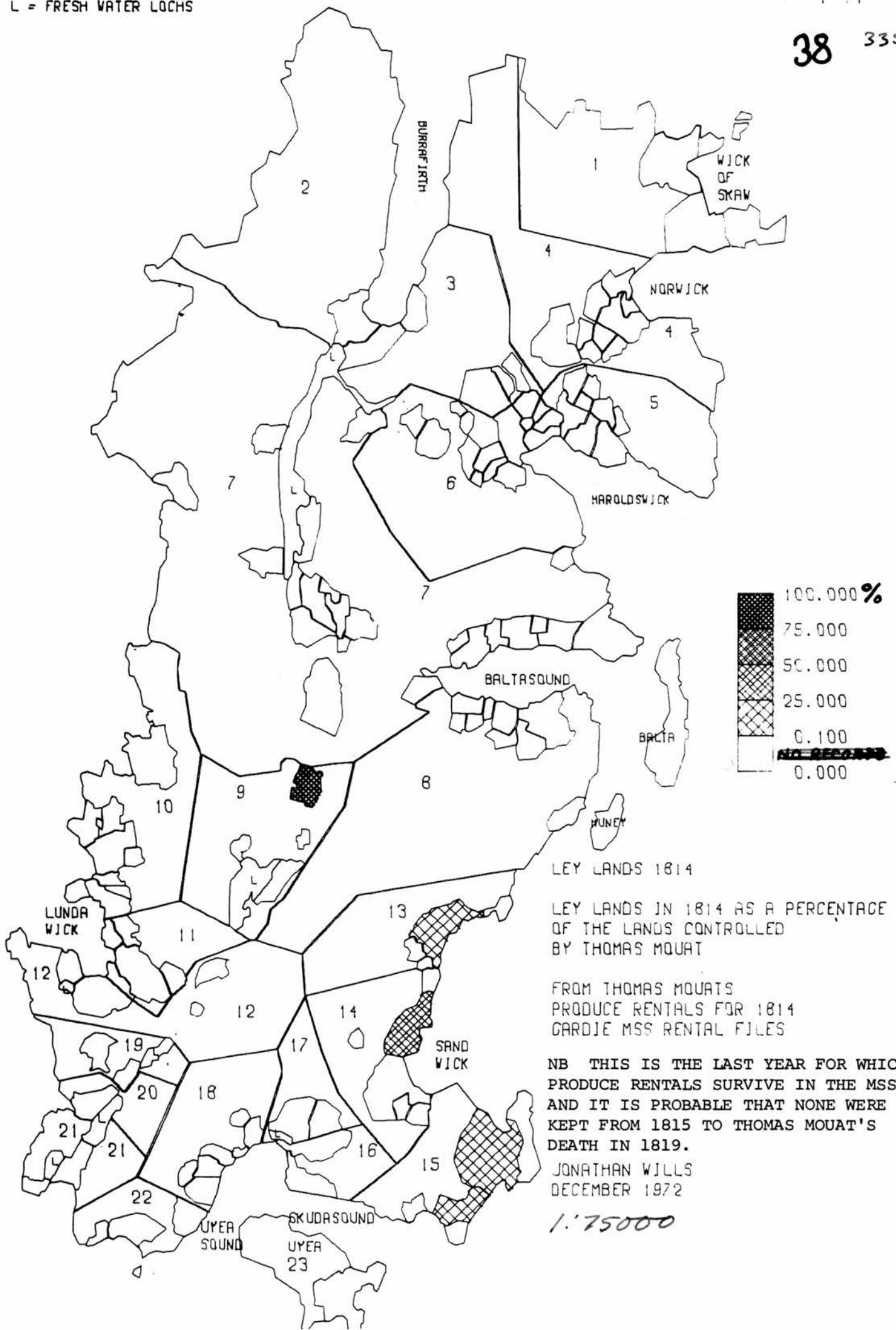
JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

-SYMBOLS

L = FRESH WATER LOCHS

MAP

38 335



LEY LANDS 1814

LEY LANDS IN 1814 AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE LANDS CONTROLLED BY THOMAS MOUAT

FROM THOMAS MOUATS PRODUCE RENTALS FOR 1814 CARDIE MSS RENTAL FILES

NB THIS IS THE LAST YEAR FOR WHICH PRODUCE RENTALS SURVIVE IN THE MSS AND IT IS PROBABLE THAT NONE WERE KEPT FROM 1815 TO THOMAS MOUAT'S DEATH IN 1819.

JONATHAN WILLS
DECEMBER 1972

1:75000

Chapter 5:8. Ley Lands

One of the best indices of the state of agriculture and population in eighteenth century Shetland was the amount of untenanted land. A continuous record of the ley lands on Mouat's estate in Unst has been abstracted from the rentals for the period 1778 to 1814, with isolated figures for the whole of Unst in 1775 and for John Mouat's estate in 1821. Before considering the results of this analysis we must first examine what is meant by the term "ley land".

DEFINITIONS

At first sight the terms ley, lea, farm'd, laboured in halves and untenanted etc. appear to have been used almost interchangeably in produce rentals. Ley land was by far the most common description of farms not in normal occupation, but each of the other terms did have a specific meaning.

Ley land meant a piece of land, not necessarily a discrete agricultural unit, which was not in cultivation for the year in which the rental was compiled. Ley almost always meant untenanted, certainly before 1800 when the shortage of tenants became acute (see Chapter 6). Sometimes this description was emphasised for peripheral holdings by the phrases "ley and waste" or "ley and in the hill". The absence of a named tenant was usually confirmation that the land described as ley was not in normal tenure.

For the lairds it was important to know how much land was ley, for ley lands did not pay skatt. It is possible that ley lands were sometimes overestimated as a tax-evasion device, and there is evidence from Thomas Mouat himself;

> "I have found it very difficult to obtain a correct list - owing to certain descriptions of Lands being sometimes included and at other times excluded according as the proprietors had to pay or to receive for their lands."
>
> (Vade Mecum notebook p.118)
> Gardie Mss.

Lea was sometimes a mis-spelling of ley, but where it was used as a specific term it probably meant that although the land in question was not actually cultivated, part or all of it was rented for the exclusive grazing of one tenant's livestock, or for haymaking. Lea farm'd meant the same thing, but here the arable land of an untenanted farm was grazed and cultivated by the tenant of an adjacent farm.

Laboured meant that an untenanted farm was let for cultivation by a tenant resident on another holding or, in the case of townships close to the laird's residence (e.g. Wadbister), that it was cultivated by employees of the laird for his own domestic use.

Laboured in halves could mean either that only half of the arable land was used, or that half of it was cultivated by labourers paid by a nearby tenant or by the laird, or that two tenants shared the cultivation of a vacant farm. The farms of men who went to the whaling or to the fishing in the summer, and the farms of craftsmen such as masons, wrights and dyke-builders (numerically insignificant), were sometimes worked by hired men or set to other tenants, while the tenant proper retained the use of the house, offices and "town-mails" (or toumals) - garden-like enclosures near his own house (see below).

It should be borne in mind that the "farms" in question were nearly always run-rig - scattered portions of land in the township and not ring-fenced as discrete units except in the townships that had been measured and divided (see below).

All these terms had in common the fact that the farms were not in normal tenure; since the number of lea, laboured and farmed holdings was so small relative to the ley farms as such,* and since a great deal of extra work would be required to distinguish all the farms that were

* (about 5-10%)

not exactly ley, but nonetheless not in normal tenure, the ley land figures used in this survey includes all the categories of lands described above. It must be emphasised that they were similarly regarded by the contemporary landlords. They are an indication of the extent to which the normal agricultural system of the estate in Unst was being disrupted. In time a farm that was persistently entered as ley tended to be subsumed under another holding in the rentals, or allowed to revert to the hill in the case of outsets.

The graphs show the crude number of merks in ley farms; the size of the sample of merks from which it was taken; the number of ley farms and ley merks analysed by size clauses as discussed above (graphs 52 and 53); and the total number of ley merks expressed as a percentage of the total number of merks in the sample. The maps (27-38) show the distribution of ley farms over Mouat's estate in the island, and the ley merks as a percentage of his holdings in each township, at regular 5 year intervals.

From the percentage of ley land graph (Graph 56) we can trace the general pattern, but before considering it we must note several features of the source material. The 1775 figure refers to most of Unst, being a sample of 1,763 merks (77%) out of a total of 2,262 taken from a "Cess rental" made for collecting the land tax in that year. The 1777-1814 figures are from Mouat's produce rentals, and there is a gap between 1814 and 1821 when there is a figure for the Unst estate from a stated rental of John Mouat's estate (which by then included Thomas Mouat's lands as well). The number of laboured and farmed lands in this last rental was unusually high, and since it is a different type of source from the bulk of the material the high total of "ley lands" must be treated with caution.

Graph 56 shows a relatively low level of ley land in the late

1770's and early 1780's, at around and below 5% of the sample but with considerable annual fluctuations. Then there was a sharp rise to around 9% in the near-famine year of 1785. Apart from 1786, when desperate attempts were made to grow as much food as possible after the dearth, the level of ley lands remained above 5% until 1790-1791, when there was a rapid decline in their numbers. This may be associated with the moderate to good harvests reported for 1788, 1790 and 1791 (see Chapter 6), but the figures may also have been influenced by the addition to the sample of the Muness lands in 1790, the year following their purchase. The total was again low in 1793.

By 1794 the ley lands were back at the low level of the early-1780's (remembering that the sample was larger), but in 1803, a year of crop failure and disastrous fishings, it again reached the 1785 level of 9%. This time, however, the total continued to rise, reaching a peak of 16% in 1807, but then falling very quickly to 5% by 1810. Thereafter there was a renewed rise before the records ceased in 1814, with a slight peak in 1813 (another year when famine relief was sent by the government to Shetland).

There is an obvious co-variation between ley land levels and the crises of agricultural and fishing production and consumption, but this superficial correlation does not account for all the features of the graph. The dearths of 1782-1787 and 1801-1807 were comparable in severity and duration, and although there were differences in detail there is only one doubtful reference to suggest that the latter period was significantly worse than the former. Yet the ley levels were higher in the second dearth and large farms were more affected than before (graphs 52 and 53).

This may be accounted for by several factors;

(1) There were far more young men in the Navy and at the whaling in 1802-1807, when Thomas Mouat estimated that between 10 and 15% of his younger tenants were at sea.

(2) The relatively fast reduction in ley land after the very high figures for 1804-1807 may reflect the merging of ley farms with tenanted farms (not a complicated procedure in run rig townships) to make larger holdings. The graphs analysing the size of the ley units themselves suggest that they were getting larger in the first decade of the nineteenth century.*

(3) As described in Chapter 6 below, the population continued to grow in the absence of so many young men during the period 1800-1810, but at a much slower rate than before. There is no sign of any large scale subdivision of amalgamated and other larger farms after the peace and the return of (some of) the sailors, but the high level of ley lands recorded for 1821 may, despite the limitations of this particular source, represent the abandonment on farms taken in for cultivation by these returned men some 6 or 7 years previously. The Statistical Accounts of Delting and Bressay described how in the 1780's these outset farms were frequently given up after 5 or 6 years because of the difficulty of manuring them. Unfortunately the rentals do not distinguish outsets from other farms, even when ley, and the ley lands for 1815-1820 were either not recorded (Thomas Mouat had gout in his writing hand and had recently bought out his skatt duties from Dundas) or the records have not survived.

As the maps (27-38) show, there were perceptible variations in the distribution of ley lands within the island. The most noticeable

* But note that adjacent ley farms that were persistently ley were often lumped together in the rentals - distorting the picture.

feature is that ley lands occurred most frequently and extensively in scattalds where peat reserves were very scarce or absent altogether, and where accordingly a hogaleave had to be paid to the proprietors in other scattalds, often some distance away. The two townships with the highest recurrent totals of ley lands are Colvadale and Caldback, the former in an area almost devoid of peat, the latter with a poor aspect and at a distance from the sea. Both townships recorded large percentages of ley land for more than 20 of the 36 years between 1775 and 1821 for which we have data. In general the pattern was for higher levels of ley land in the south and east of Unst even though this was the most extensive fertile part of the island. Ley land was least common on the south western shores of Unst where peat was obtainable from the hills of Yell and where Thomas Mouat had carried out agricultural "improvements" around his house. As Fenton (1972) has suggested, it is likely that in this period the availability of fuel was as important as water supply in the maintenance of any particular settlement.

Fuel supply was undoubtedly a factor in determining the incidence of ley lands (see below), but there were other influences not always explicable by the amount of peat and the agricultural quality of the land.

In periods of dearth there were conflicting pressures on the occupants of farms; on the one hand there was a tendency to abandon a farm from which a tenant could no longer scrape an existence, a pressure felt especially on marginal land; on the other hand the years of food shortage stimulated the tenants to grow as much as possible, particularly cabbage and potatoes, and hay for fodder. If the worst came to the worst, which it often did, the tenants could always exist

on dried piltocks and many did so even in average winters, sometimes spreading butter on the dried fish as a substitute for bread. The size of farms was also an important variable; many families could have supported themselves from farms of 2 or 3 merks, but that was not the problem. The problem was to support themselves and pay what the lairds and ministers demanded. We know very little about the age-structure of the population (see Chapter 6), and although the women traditionally did as much as if not more agricultural work than the men, we may assume that the absence of so many able-bodied men in the Navy must have aggravated the food-supply situation; the loss of their labour was not compensated for by their absence as food consumers, because the aged, infirm and juvenile population - the ~~non~~-producers (less active) - still had to be fed.

In times of relatively constant labour supply the weather and other factors of the physical environment might well have been the dominant influence on the level of ley lands, but from 1793 until at least 1812 the indications are that an acute shortage of labour was superimposed on these factors and resulted in the doubling of ley lands levels in the second dearth. Even in the prosperous 1790's, the level of ley lands on Mouat's lands in Unst was as high as it had been in the crisis of the mid 1780's; the only new factor was shortage of labour; this must suffice as an explanation in the absence of alternative suggestions based on detailed statistical research.

These high levels of ley land were not unprecedented; records in the Gardie papers of Unst ley lands for the 1730's suggest that over a third of the rentalled land were ley at that time. A ley land rental for the whole island from 1718 proves that 25.83% of the lands were ley in that year, including all of some large townships (e.g. Upswall, Scarpoe, Newgord, Ramnageo, Cliff)and most of Baliasta, the

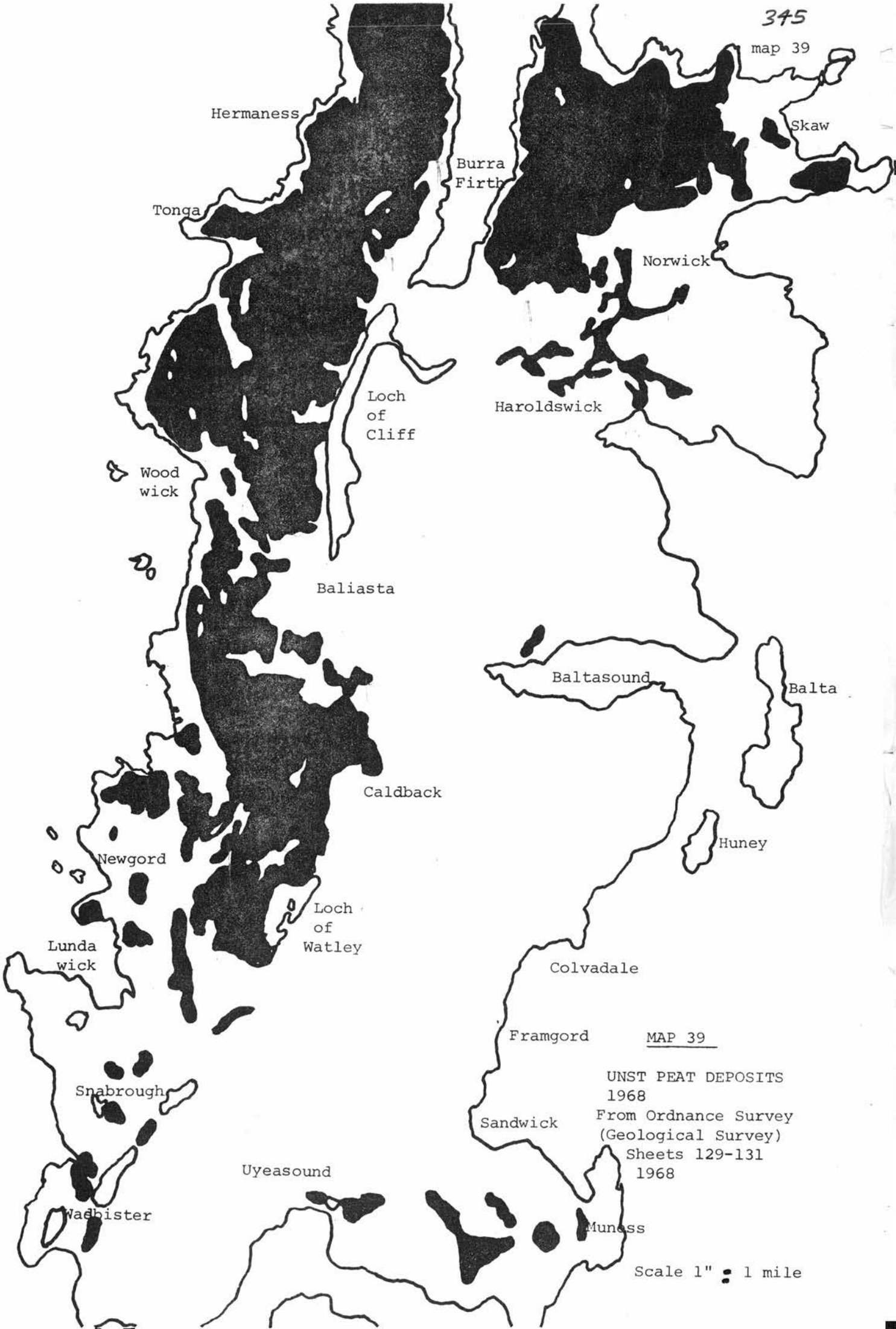
largest scattald. These records are too fragmentary for systematic analysis, but an indication of the seriousness of these early eighteenth century dearths comes from such examples as the farm of Skea, a good farm in Baliasta, which was completely ley "and in the hill without any kind of dyke or herding" from 1736 to 1746. There are only three records of ley lands in Skea during the entire period 1775-1821, representing a small fraction of the farm. It is probable that the large amounts of ley land helped William Mouat and others to enlarge their estates in the 1730's and 1740's, partly by "gripping" and partly by forced purchase from impoverished udallers.

With the end of the Napoleonic Wars it may be said that ley land ceased to be a problem for the lairds. The rapid increase in the population in the first half of the nineteenth century meant that tenant shortage in the old sense was at an end; not that ley lands disappeared entirely - there was still a shortage of tenants with adequate resources for good farming, or crofting as it became. The growth of the fishing industry and, in Unst, the profits from chromate mining, as well as increased external investments by the lairds, resulted in their being less dependent than formerly on their rent-rolls.

With increasing population the land within the hill dykes became more and more crowded; the hills of Bressay in particular are strewn with abandoned crofts taken out in the land hunger of the later nineteenth century; divisions of commonty for sheep farming restricted the tenants' use of the hoga for pasture and the space available for their outsets; under this pressure on land, ley lands were bound to become a rarity and by 1886 the lairds no longer claimed that they "courted the tenants"; the complaints of 1871 and 1886 showed how the lairds (and others) had availed themselves of this new situation.

Chapter 5:9. Fuel Supply

Map 39


map 39
Hermaness
Skaw
Burra Firth
Tonga
Norwick
Loch of Cliff
Haroldswick
Wood wick
Baliasta
Baltasound
Balta
Caldback
Huney
Newgord
Loch of Watley
Lunda wick
Colvadale
Framgord
MAP 39
Snabrough
UNST PEAT DEPOSITS
1968
From Ordnance Survey
(Geological Survey)
Sheets 129-131
1968
Sandwick
Uyeasound
Wadbister
Muness
Scale 1" : 1 mile

Chapter 5:9. Fuel Supply

The universal fuel of the common people in Shetland was peat, for domestic cooking and heating, cereal drying and the curing of meat and fish. Driftwood was too valuable to burn in any quantity and imported coal too expensive. The problem in Shetland generally and particularly in Unst was that there were great inequalities in the distribution of peat and in the ease of transporting it. Since at least the sixteenth century a plethora of regulations and folklore had existed to control the exploitation of this essential resource. The shortage of peat in some districts was a problem as early as 1633, when Captain Smith noted the dearth of it in south-east Unst. In 1700 John Brand wrote;

"Through the isles for fewel they have good pities in abundance; tho' in some places they are at a distance from them, as those who live in the Skerries are obliged to bring them from other isles, as from Whalsay, and the passage being dangerous many boats are cast away with them."

(op.cit.1701, 119)

Thomas Mouat (1791) thought that

"From the waste of the peat earth upon the eastern side of the island it should seem that Unst must have been peopled at a very remote period;"

(OSA, V, 1794, 200)

In a letter to his lawyer in 1793 (No. 1,287b) he explained his father's solution to the problem:

"In the year 1772 ... William Mouat resolving to settle at Belmont in Unst on the ferry side opposite to Papil Scattald in North Yell and finding that there was not a sufficient quantity of peat moss on his property in that neighbourhood, before he proceeded to build there treated with and ... purchased from John Henderson of Gloup, Irvine of Midbreck and John Scott of Greenwell, heritors of lands on Papil scattald, a right to cut peats on such parts of the opposite scattald or common of Papil ... as lay most contiguous to his said residence, to the extent of 24 men's cutting of dressed muir in a day yearly."

One of the lesser Yell lairds, Robert Robertson of Gossabrough

(usually referred to as "Gossy"), resented this intrusion and complained bitterly that "Yell has nothing but moss, which we will readily exchange for your fine fields ... " (No. 1,561)

The peat itself was not actually purchased, but the right to cut it. Every room and township had the right to peat and thatch turves on the common land or hoga of its scattaled; these rights were originally allotted in proportion to the size of the constituent townships and the number of owner occupiers, but by Thomas Mouat's time the peat rights were mainly concentrated in the hands of the major proprietors, who charged their tenants extra for what had once been free. All the tenants had were communal rights in their hoga, although many still believed that it was communal property. Thus John Mouat owned the hoga of Lamb Hoga in Fetlar in 1788, (although he owned hardly any land in the island) and charged hogaleaves to the indigenous tenants of other lairds in the island. This is evidence that it was becoming possible to transfer ownership of common land separately from township land, particularly if there was only one heritor in a scattald. (No.1,166)

From 1777 onwards Thomas Mouat enforced, or tried to enforce, strict rules for the management of the hogas; tenants were required to replace the sward when cutting peats and roof turves, and in no case to cut "sward peats". The banks were (and still are) supposed to be cut in straight lines, to facilitate drainage, and the tenants were supposed to leave the thin layer of loam that underlay the peat and which, when covered with the sward, made better pasture than before. He even specified a date and time before which thatch turves were not to be cut (usually in mid-August) and fined transgressors.

Abuses of the hoga were most common in the peat-shortage areas; in 1790 Thomas Mouat sent two trusty tenants to inspect the hoga of the

small scattald of Snaburgh, near Belmont; they reported "scandalous and uncommon" destruction of the peat grounds and named the worst offenders, including the rebellious William Copland. Twenty years later he was still complaining, this time about the people of Hoversta at Uyeasound;

> "And what renders it the more vexatious is that much of that destruction is wrought by house-wives and house-men, who labour no land, are a burden on the neighbourhood, and are settled in direct opposition to the wholesome Country Acts or provincial laws of Shetland, and are particularly
> Magnus Winwick, Catherine Jack, Janet Coutts and Elizabeth Charleson,"
> (Gardie Mss 1810)

The damage that can be done to grazing by improvident peat cutting, combined with overgrazing, may still be seen in Unst and in the west mainland of Shetland.

Sterile, rocky hillsides stripped of their peat cover may also be seen in Bressay, but in that island there was always enough peat for the inhabitants and more to spare; the Statistical Account tells us that there was a flourishing trade in the sale of peat to Lerwick, whose surrounding hills had very little peat cover, then as now. James Henderson of Gardie was careful to retain control of peat rights when he set Bressay to Laurence Hughson in 1793 (No. 1,288), and Thomas Mouat thought that one of the reasons the previous tacksman, Thomas Bolt, had been relieved of his tack had been his clandestine sales of large quantities of peat to the inhabitants of Lerwick (No.1,293). When Mouat gained control of Bressay in 1797 he imposed restrictions on peat cutting identical to those in Unst.

This made him unpopular in both Bressay and Lerwick; Laurence Hughson (who retained the tack of Bressay until 1811) complained that the new regulations were ruining those Bressay people who made a living from peat cutting. (No. 1,450). This was a division of labour to gladden the most "speculative" of tourists; it was corroborated by

Patrick Fleming who reported to Mr. Shirreff in 1809 that;

"The town of Lerwick is supplied with peats from the hills in the neighbourhood and from the island of Bressay ... in Bressay the tenants have long been in the practice of digging a greater quantity of peats than is necessary for their own consumption, and of selling them occasionally to the inhabitants of Lerwick."

(Shirreff, 1814, 132)

Scattalds, Towns, Rooms, Rigs and Merks...

Chapter 5:10. [redacted]

In 1819 William Mouat attempted to explain the peculiarities of "the Zetland method" of land tenure and measurement to the Edinburgh lawyer who was sorting out the deeds on the late Thomas Mouat's estate:

"In considering my uncle's rights the first peculiarity which will strike you is the want of charters. All the land, however, ... holds or is entitled to hold of the Crown. But having no valued rent and consequently no votes, landholders in this country have seldom thought it worthwhile to take out charters when they could obtain sasines without them and it so happens that both my uncle and my grandfather had simple dispositions from their respective immediate predecessors .....

"One effect of the want of charters is to create a confusion in the multiplicity of dispositions which nothing but a local knowledge of names and places and people can unravel. And at the same time the number of deeds renders the sending of them to Edinburgh particularly hazardous, especially at this present season in our awkward conveyances. One deed if lost might be restored but fifty or sixty hardly could. Besides, if a complete progress to the whole must be produced, the original titles have to be sought from so many different hands that it will be barely possible to procure them.

"It will strike you as singular that in none of the dispositions is there any reference to or description of marches or boundaries of any kind. This arises from the nature of our universal denomination of land - the merk. It has no connexion with positive measurement but merely signified a certain proportional part of a town. There appears to have been formerly a general division of the country of which the history is now lost, probably by public authority under the Norwegian law.

"The great divisions are called scattalds which are separated by traditionally defined marches. A scattald consists of one or more Towns (or rooms). A town is composed of an indefinite portion of arable land, meadow and good grass inclosed within a ring fence, and of a considerable extent of hill pasture. This hill pasture belongs in common to all the proprietors of the scattald, i.e. of the town or towns which compose the scattald. The arable, meadow and grass grounds within the dyke are occupied in severalty, generally run rig. Now, each town is known, principally from ancient rentals, to consist of a certain fixed number of merks and each merk has right to a proportional share of each sort of land .....

"Within the dykes, possession is generally held to be the rule of property, though where divisions of runrig have taken place the lands have been equally divided according to the number of merks without regard to possession. The extent of the merk is exceedingly various as it depends upon the size of the town which is quite indefinite. Upon an average of the whole country it may be between 20 and 25 acres of all sorts of land common included, of which about a twentieth is under cultivation.

" ... The merk is divided into 8 ures, which retain the same character. You will now understand why a merk neither requires nor admits of any definition by boundaries and what sort of right a disposition to so many merks conveys.

"There are some pieces of property which although in fact parts of the merk are often conveyed separately. These are called outsets. Their origin is this; Heritors have often set out (i.e. enclosed and appropriated) patches suitable for cultivation from the commons in which they had an interest, upon the idea that they were only taking possession of what, upon a division, they would at all events have a right to. It begins however to be considered law here, though I believe the point has never been decided in any court, that when these outsets have been possessed for 40 years they become exclusive property. That is to say, that they ought not to be counted in dividing the commons in which they are situated. But my own opinion is that all which prescription can do for the proprietor is to give him a right upon division of the common to have his outsets allocated pro tanto of his share at their original, not at their improved - value."

(No. 2,404 16.10.1819
William Mouat to George Veitch WS in Edinburgh) (My emphasis)

Bearing in mind this contemporary account it may be useful to simplify the meanings of the various terms used in discussion of land tenure.

AN EXPLANATION OF THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE VARIOUS DIVISIONS OF LAND IN SHETLAND

SHETLAND

consists of numerous parishes, one of which is Unst, which was formerly divided into the north, mid, and south parishes of Unst.

each PARISH may contain several scattalds; in Unst there are twenty-two excluding Uyea Isle.

The SCATTALD was originally a division for the purposes of taxation, made in the ninth century. It has now come to mean common hill land (that is, hill land in which there are communal rights rather than communal ownership).

each SCATTALD contains hoga land and township land.

HOGA LAND is the accurate name for the commons in the hill; for example Lamb Hoga in Fetlar, the North and South Hogas in Bressay, and Hogland in Unst and elsewhere.

TOWNSHIP LAND refers to the lands enclosed within the hill dykes, both infield and outfield. There may be several townships within a scattald, as in Baliasta Scattald, or only one, as in Snabrough Scattald.

each TOWN may contain several rooms, although in smaller townships the town and the room are often synonymous, as in Wadbister Scattald and Township.

a ROOM is a group of farms with their own ring-fence, and may be within the hill dykes of a township containing several rooms. The rooms of Sandil, Digron, Kirkaton, Troal and Virse make up the ~~room~~ town of Norwick, but here their lands are greatly intermixed and there is no distinction between the rooms and the township. Generally speaking the farmers in one room tended to share the lands within the boundaries of that room, as in Caldback or Woodwick or Midgarth.

a FARM is the unit of one family's cultivation, although most farms were composed of extremely fragmented strips of land, the rigs, and very few were discrete holdings with their own ring fence.

the RIGS that made up a farm were measured or rather valued in merks of land.

a MERK of LAND is that quantity and quality of land that is valued at an annual rent of one merk of silver, but by the 18th century, because of fragmentation and currency changes, the merk of land was very variable and indeterminate.

If a laird ever did decide to "improve" his property there was no lack of would-be advisers; one of the reforms most constantly urged was the division of commonty, but in Unst Thomas Mouat concentrated first on the measurement, division and re-allocation of lands within the township dykes - a process known as "planking". Before discussing this process we must digress to examine the system of agricultural organisation that was being "planked."

Our knowledge of the runrig system is derived from contemporary descriptions, from maps made at the time of measurement and division, from quasi-archaeological attempts to reconstruct boundaries, and from the evidence of field names. Perhaps the best of the early attempts to trace the origins of the system was Samuel Hibbert's "History of the udallers" in his description of 1822. Few good maps have survived to give a detailed account,* at least in the Gardie papers where there is only one of real value - that for the division of Norwick township, also in 1822. It is probable that in many earlier cases no proper map was

* There are, however, numerous nineteenth century maps of division of commonty - in Register House, Edinburgh, and Lerwick Sheriff Court.

made, or at most a sketch map was scribbled "on location" (one of which also survived at Gardié - that for Crosbister in 1784); the Gardie papers do contain a number of surveyor's notes, with measurements in furlongs, chains, yards, fathoms etc. - there was no standard unit of measurement - areas were more frequently given in square fathoms than in acres; these notes are a good source for the study of field names (particularly that for Snarravoe - No. 795, 1781). Most of the early divisions of arable were made by local men, often lesser heritors like Hosea Hoseason of Aywick in Yell, who used only a six foot rule and the rudiments of geometry. Such surveyors were usually assisted by the old men of the township, many of whom were deeply suspicious of geometry and insisted in measuring out every rig in units of six feet square and then adding up the totals. It could be a lengthy process, and quite lucrative for the surveyors, many of whom attained considerable skill and were increasingly in demand in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

One remarkable map from a much-contested division of Funzie, (pronounced 'Finnie') in Fetlar in 1829 has recently been studied by W.P.L. Thomson (1970). His conclusions throw new light on the origins and morphology of Shetland runrig as it existed at the end of the period under study.

"It is possible to say that certain features of the Funzie system were common to other places in Shetland in the [early] nineteenth century; the meadow land worked by groups rather than individuals, the "meadow-shift" system with annual rotation of the meadow sections, and the semi-permanent occupation of arable. But arable rigs did rotate annually in some places, although it seems clear that this was always less common. It is also possible to see something of how the system was evolving. There has sometimes been the assumption that run-rig developed from a primitive communal farming to a stage of "frozen" runrig where [annual] lotting was abandoned. There is no indication that this had happened at Funzie where the system was developing in the direction of further fragmentation and complexity until the final division of the runrig took place. Runrig was encroaching on individually-held toon-mals [i.e. small blocks of land immemorially annexed to specific tenancies]

and/or udal boldings] and rigs were being divided among several crofters, a division likely to become permanent as different sections were worked to different levels by spade cultivation. What the system had evolved from is less clear, but there would seem to have been bigger blocks in individual tenure."

(Thomson, 1970)

He concludes that,

"In the Funzie toon-mals we can perhaps see the greatly reduced allodial core of the township, still in individual hands and divided when new crofts were created. The [historical] co-ownership of the "mark" may have introduced the run-rig element which, as population and cultivation expanded and the occupiers were reduced in status, had encroached on the former allodial land almost to the point of its extinction. With the runrig element increasing, had come Scottish terminology [for field names and systems].

"Thusat Funzie we probably have a Norse farm greatly altered by a long period of Scottish influence."

(Ibid)

In the light of this it is interesting to compare Thomson's findings with the general statement made by J. S. Clouston (1919, 45) to summarise his researches into the origins of runrig and its associated settlement patterns in Orkney.

Clouston also concluded that;

"It thus becomes possible to trace the evolution of this kind of Orkney township from a single large farm with a single mansion house into a condition in which two or three sons occupied different houses standing close together, and shared the land for fairness sake on the run-rig principle; and finally, as parcels were sold to strangers, and the town got more and more broken up, into a maze of sheads and rigs and balks and freedoms, yet with certain faint reminiscences - such as the head house with its own uppa (hill outsets) - of its lost unity. And as for the other sort of town,* one would be inclined to surmise that they were run-rig only in sections in early days, as portioners arose in the various farms; and then as land changed hands and sometimes broke up and sometimes amalgamated, things grew so complicated that the whole town became rendalled together."

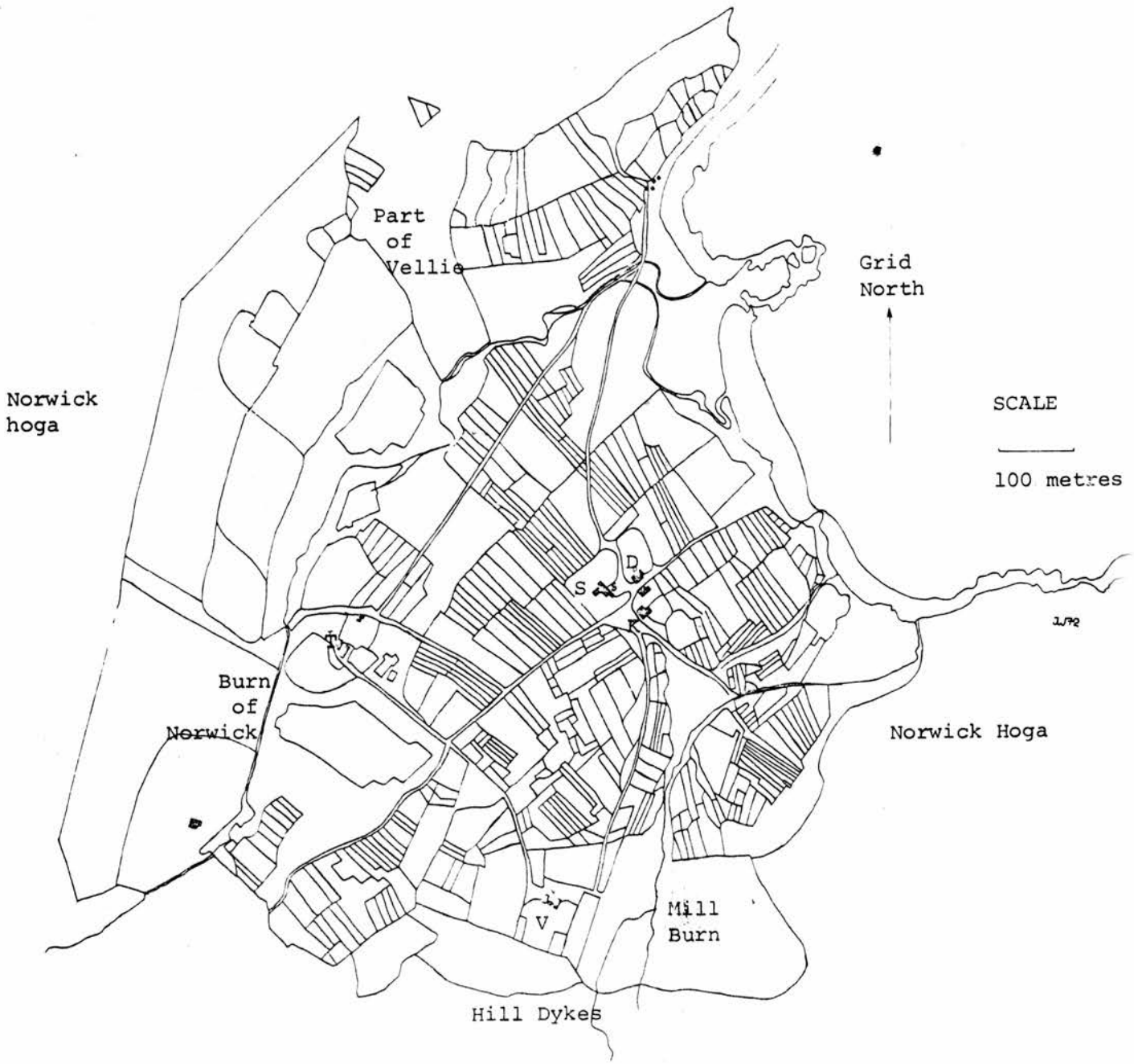
* i.e. one with multiple original settlement and with several head bu's (houses)

Chapter 5:11. The division of Norwich in 1822

Maps 40(a) - 50

THE TOWNSHIP OF NORWICK IN 1822 Map 40(a)

Outline of the lines of division in Norwick before the "planking" and re-arrangement of 1822

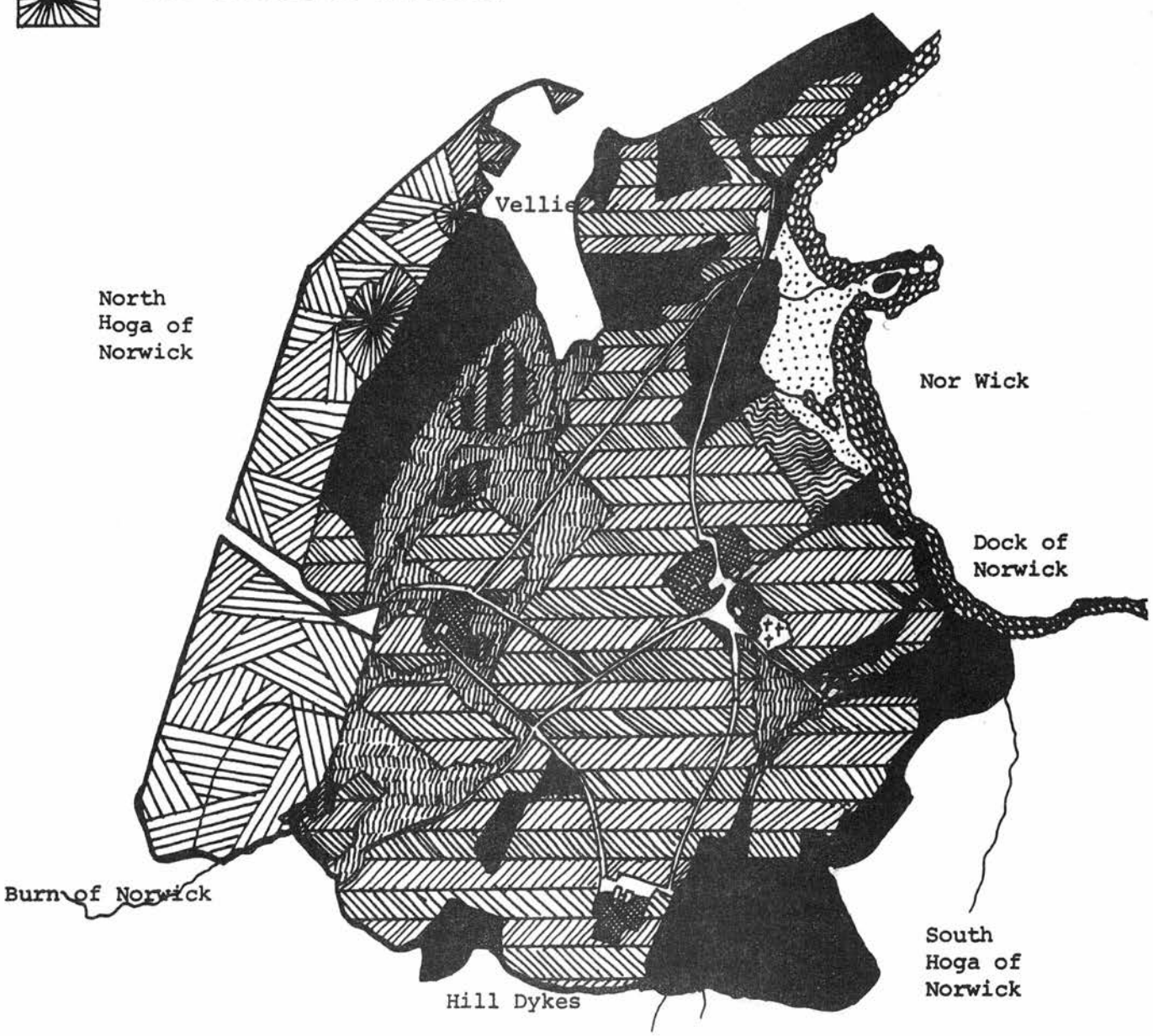


THE TOWNSHIP OF NORWICK IN 1822

Map 40(b)

LAND USES

- Arable infield and outfield
- Grass grounds
- Meadow
- Kale yards and corn yards
- Old arable ruined by sand and salt spray
- Grass grounds ruined by sand and salt spray
- Punds (enclosures for stock)
- Peat banks
- Foreshore
- New outsets taken in from hill land
- Kirkyard
- Dwelling houses
- Paths and tracks



THE TOWNSHIP OF NORWICK IN 1822

map 41

Arable lands owned by John Mouat

Corn and kale yards owned by John Mouat

(John Mouat inherited his brother Thomas Mouat's lands in 1819)

THE TOWNSHIP OF NORWICK IN 1822 map 42

DIGRON

Arable infield land

Arable outfield land

Corn and Kale Yards

THE TOWNSHIP OF NORWICK IN 1822

map 43

KIRKATON

Arable infield land

Arable outfield land

Corn and kale yards

THE TOWNSHIP OF NORWICK IN 1822 map 44

SANDIL

Arable infield land

Arable outfield land

Corn and kale yards

THE TOWNSHIP OF NORWICK IN 1822 map 45

TROAL (Turfhcull)

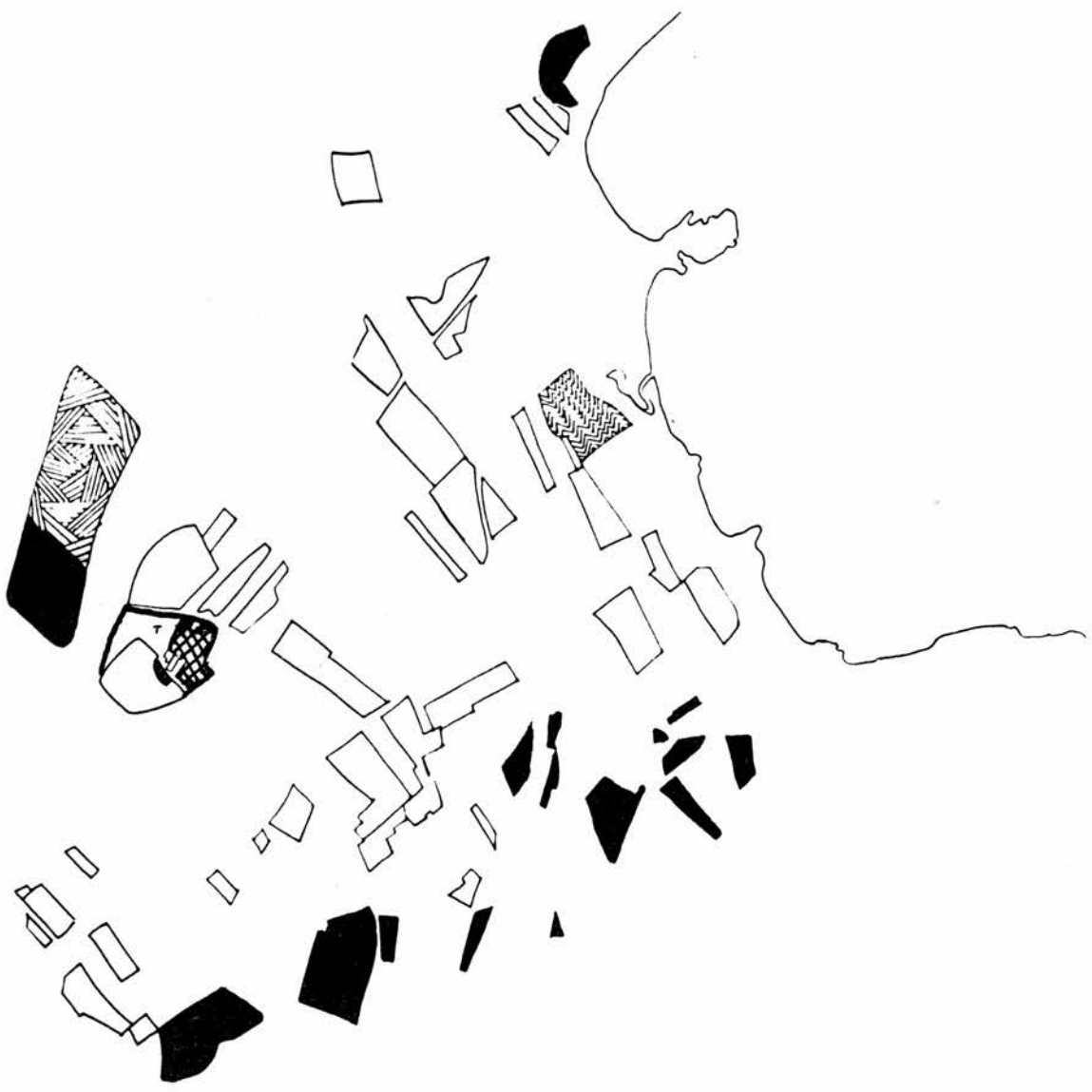
Arable infield land

Arable outfield land

Corn and kale yards

Old arable land destroyed by drifting sand

"Troals Gardie" - arable enclosure from the hill land bewest the burn



THE TOWNSHIP OF NORWICK IN 1822 map 46

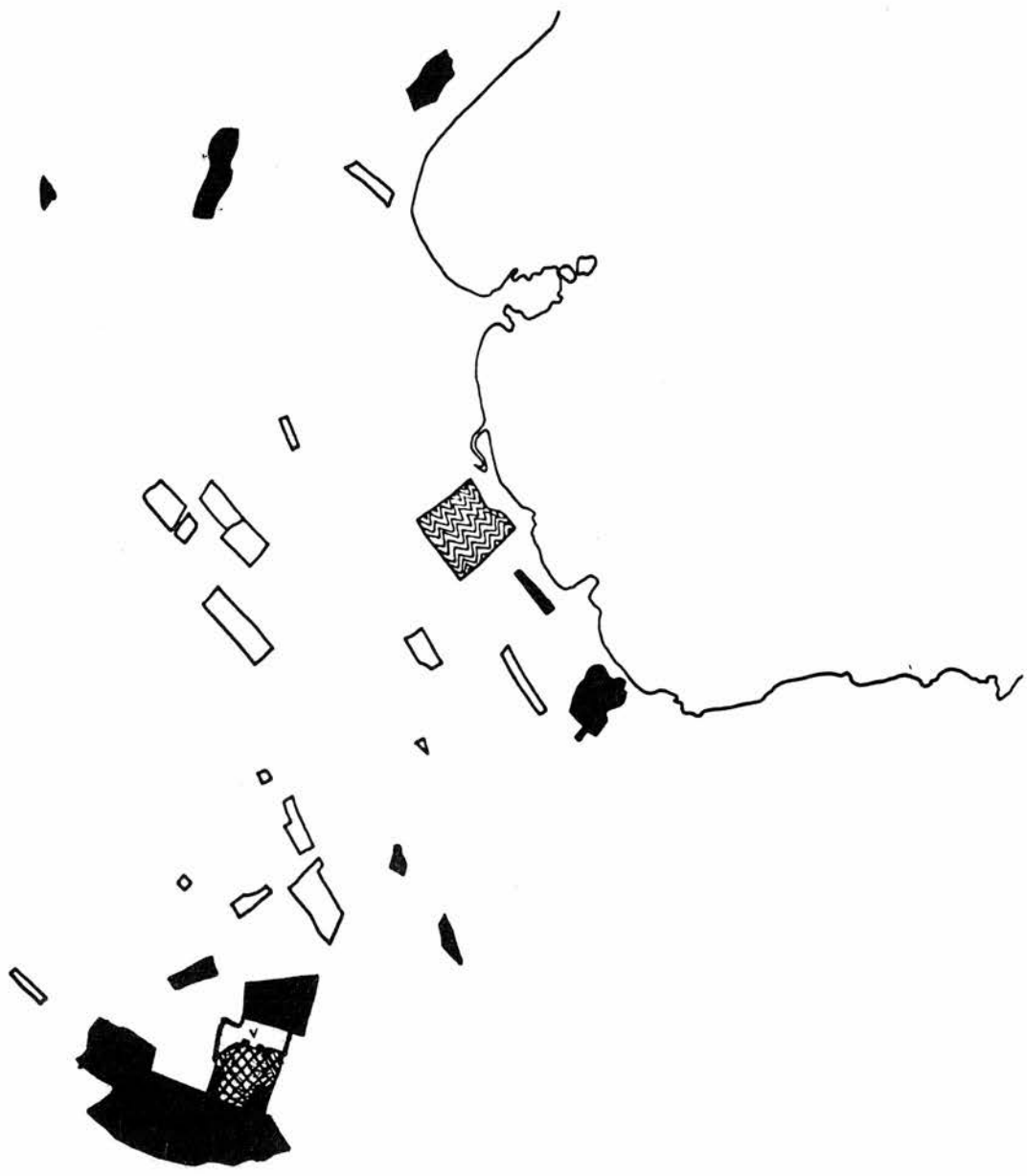
VIRSE

Arable infield land

Arable outfield land

Corn and kale yards

Old arable land destroyed by drifting sand

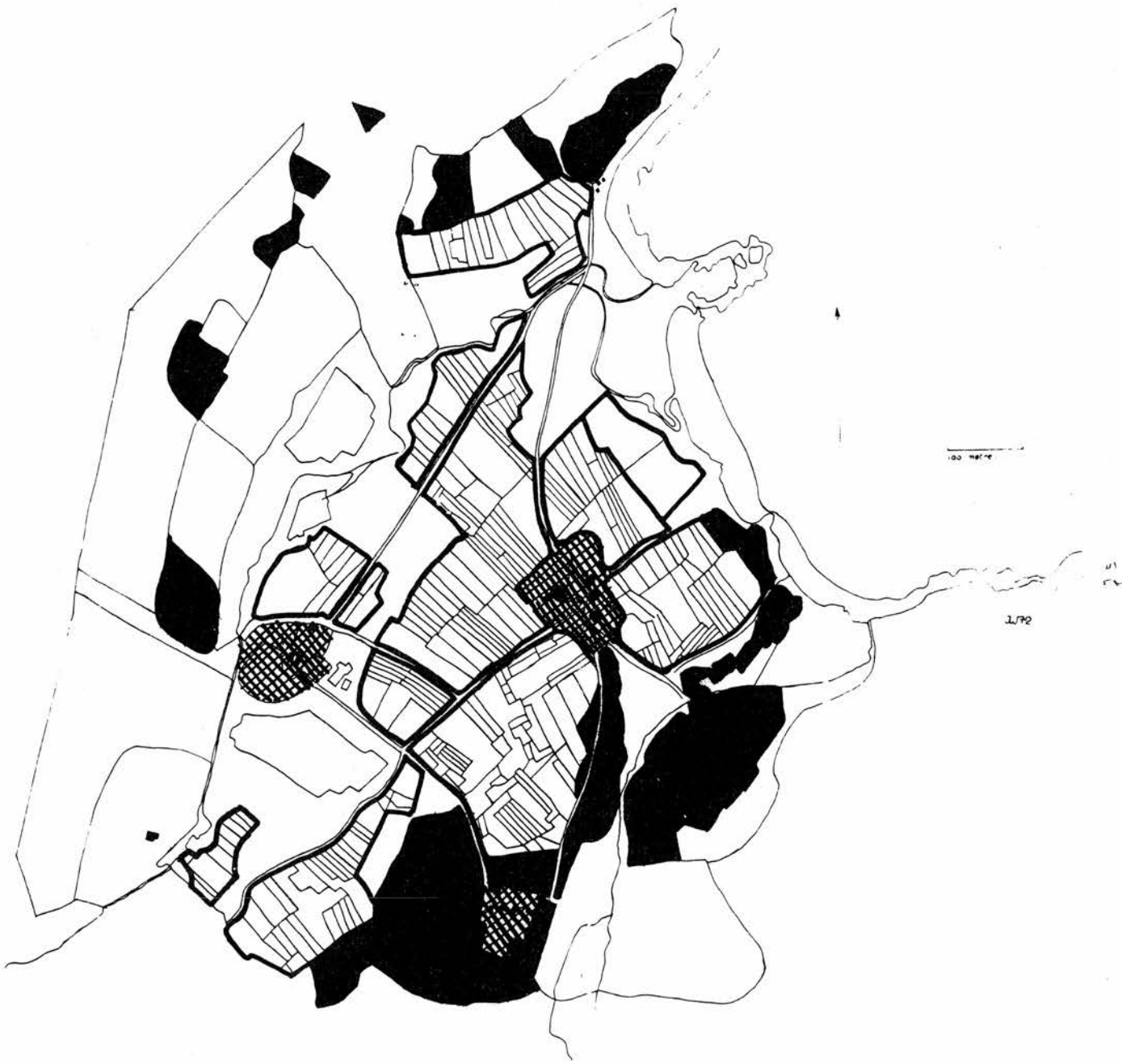


THE TOWNSHIP OF NORWICK IN 1822 map 47

Outfield arable land

Corn yards, kale yards and "toonmails" land.

Infield arable land



THE TOWNSHIP OF NORWICK IN 1822 map 48

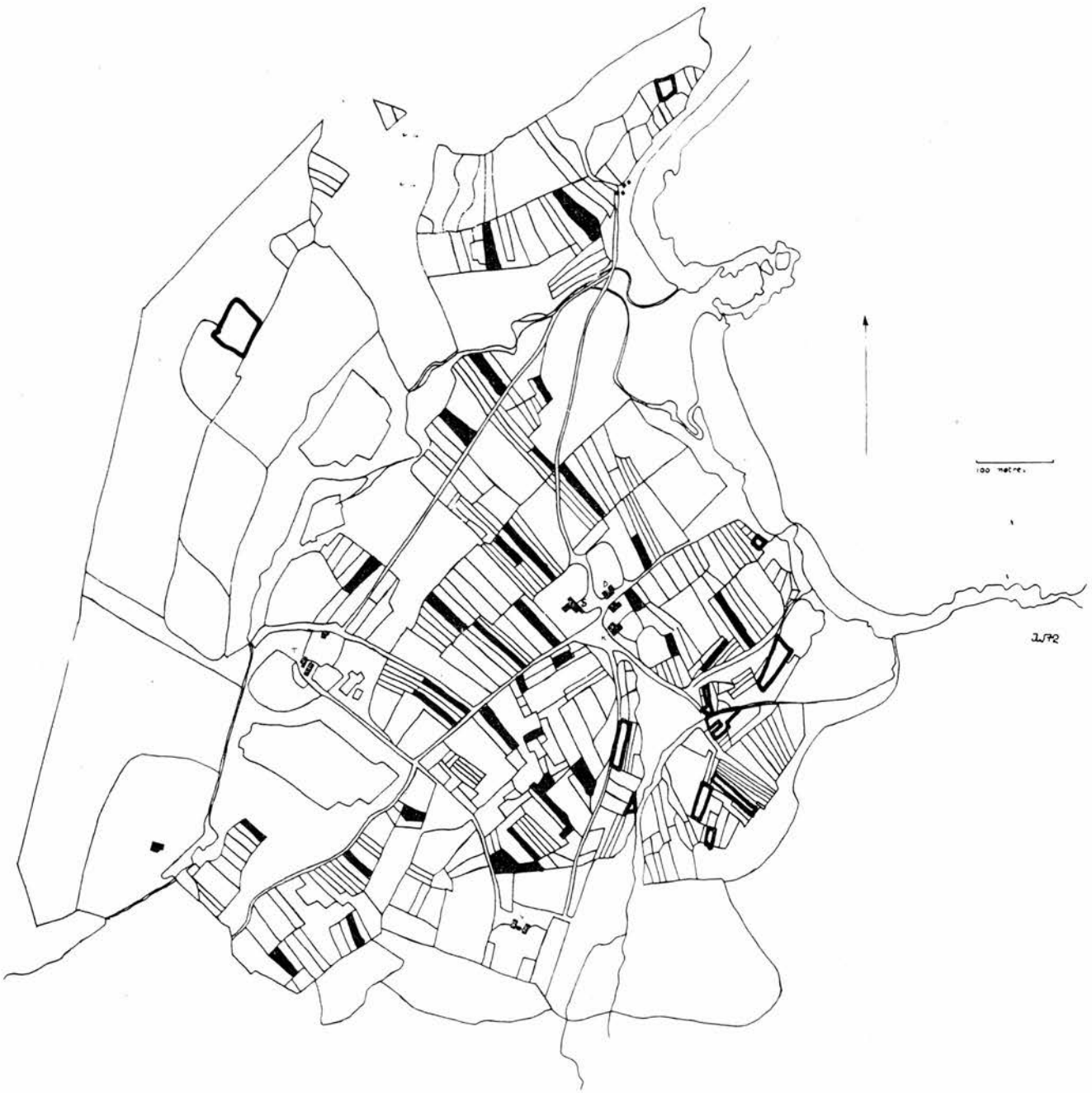
The lands of a minor heritor, Mr Leslie

Infield arable land

Outfield arable land

comprising 8.25 merks of land in all of Norwick
2.75 in Kirkaton
5.50 in Sandil

in a total of 41 parcels of land
mean size of the parcels being 0.2 merks



Chapter 5:11. The division of Norwick in 1822

Bearing in mind the of Thomson and Clouston statements we can now examine the township of Norwick in 1822. The Gardie map was somewhat distorted but with the aid of aerial photography, the Buness estate maps, extensive field survey and interviews with local people it has been possible to reconstruct the approximate boundaries of the 1822 field system. It must be remembered however that there may be errors of up to 50 yards in this reconstruction.

The scattald of Norwick was shared by 8 rooms, each of which contained several small farms. The division of 1822 was however only concerned with 5 of these rooms; Digron, Kirkaton, Sandil, Troal (Turfhoull) and Virse. These shared in the arable of Norwick township proper, the other three, Hoyea, North Dale and Vellie being discrete rooms outside the hill dykes of Norwick and having restricted rights in the scattald. These three are probably outsets from the hoga, but their great antiquity (possibly as far back as the thirteenth century) is shown by the fact that they all had merk valuations in the rentals unlike most eighteenth century outsets which were hardly ever assessed in merks (for by then the method of such assessmentwas forgotten).

At first sight the 1822 map appears chaotic, and indeed the field and other boundaries bear little relation to the "improved" pattern suggested and delineated by the surveyor, let alone to the present layout. On closer inspection it is seen that each parcel of land had very specific purposes and defined categories of user. There were no fewer than 13 different categories of land, viz;

1. Toonmails ("Toomals") — Enclosed gardens for growing household vegetables and tethering livestock. These patches were alienated to the sole use of the tenant(s) of the farm to which they pertained.
Sometimes used as a collective noun embracing kale Yards, Corn Yards, Ponds etc.

2.	Cornyards and Kaleyards	Often similar in use to Toonmails, but also used for storing hay and straw and for growing brassicas etc. for domestic use. Also alienated for the use of specific holdings.
3.	Punds and Gardies (sometimes called "Quoys"	Enclosures outside the original dykes of the township, originally manured by the stock herded ("punded") in them overnight. Frequently cultivated wholly or in part. Also alienated for the use of specific holdings.
4.	Arable Infield	Surrounded by imperfect turf walls, but divided into unenclosed parallel rigs belonging to specific townships. There is no evidence of the "lotting" or rotation of use of these plots, but each room or farm's rigs were scattered, apparently at random, throughout the township, giving each a proportionate share of good, bad and indifferent land.
5.	Arable Outfield	Often hardly distinguishable from Infield in terms of soil quality, because of hundreds of years of manuring and cultivation, but in origin the outfield seems to have been taken in from the better grazing land outside the Infield dykes and on the higher lands surrounding the township. Some of the Punds and Gardies were also classified as "good outfield" by 1822. Divided into separately owned and cultivated rigs like the infield.
6.	Meadow Land	The surveyor's notes said "The confused, partial and annually changing state of division of the grass and meadow ground rendered it necessary to measure them as undivided ... " The meadow lands were confined to the low lying wetter lands along the course of the Burn of Norwick, and provided the annual crop of self-seeded hay. The patch of arable extending northwest between the Corn Yard of Digron and the burn (which has now reverted to meadow and is seasonally flooded) was probably taken out from meadow land after peat cutting operations (see below).
7.	Meadow broken up for peat cutting and lazy-beds	Large sections of the meadow surrounding the knoll of Turfhoull had been worked in this way. This ruined the land for hay but, by replacing the turf on the loamy

layer under the peat, crops of poratoes could be obtained in lazy beds, and when exhausted the land could revert to grazing. It seems probable that the arable land surrounding Turfhoull farm partly originated in this fashion.

8. Grass Grounds — This provided the communal grazings within the town dykes, but by 1822 had probably been greatly reduced in area by the incursions of enclosures for outfield cultivation, punds, gardies and peat cutting. Parts of the grass grounds also appear to have been "gripped" for the personal use of individual farmers, and remained in personal use by right of prescription. But most of it was in the "confused, partial and annually changing state of division" among the rooms as the meadow land.

9. "Sea-gusted" Grass Grounds — Along the shores of Norwick there was (and is) a very poor pasture, partly spoilt by salt spray and partly by blowing sand. Since the 1822 map was made the dunes have encroached considerably on the grass grounds and arable, and have diverted the mouth of the Burn of Norwick, causing seasonal flooding of the meadows and former rigs between Digron and Vellie.

10. "Sea-gusted" Arable — Two large parcels of land belonging to Virse and Turfhoull had been subject to the same deterioration as the grass grounds on the surrounding shore.

11. Foreshore — Rights to this land, an importance source of kelp, sand and wreckwood, were divided between the proprietors and do not seem to have been allocated to specific rooms in this case.

12. Outsets — This large area of land was enclosed by the proprietors between about 1777 and 1815, in several stages, and divided between them in proportion to their holdings in Norwick. It was not allocated to specific rooms or farms.

13. The Kirkyard — Used for occasional haycrops (considered sacrilegious)

Thus at Norwick we have a very similar basic division of land use to that described by Thomson for Funzie in Fetlar, although the township here is much larger and the division of the arable consequently

more complex. Unfortunately we do not have any details, as at Funzie, of the division of the land between the tenants of the rooms. The room, not the individual tenancy is the smallest unit identified on our map. The Norwick map does however identify the blocks of land in each room owned by each proprietor "the tenant in possession pointing out the ridges and the situation, form and size of every piece ... " (Report of division, Gardie papers, 1822). In Kirkaton, Sandil and Digron there were several proprietors; each tenant might farm rigs owned by the same proprietor but lying in different rooms (though such rigs were likely to lie adjacent to one another in such cases). It could also happen that a tenant farmed lands belonging to different proprietors in the same room. Turfhoull and Virse were single-proprietor rooms (owned by John Mouat and the Kirk respectively); in these rooms and in parts of the others, "where several ridges belonging to the same proprietor lay together they were laid down [on the plan] as one field." (Ibid).

The Surveyor, T. Irvine, had several revealing comments to make in his report, for example;

"The tenants themselves are in many cases ignorant of the marches of their own slips [sic] of meadow and grass." He noted the "gradual deterioration of the land more immediately exposed to sand blowing ... " and had tried to extend his survey "towards the sand as far as the distinction of ridges could be satisfactorily traced ... in that quarter all distinction of separate property is lost." (Ibid). "Much of the outfield (so called) is nothing inferior to some of the infield, this is the case with the land called Udaveda [immediately to the east of the Mill Burn] and the fields of outfield around Virse - [those rigs of] the latter belonging to Turfhoull and the lower houses

are too distant to receive manure, and remain outfield while the contiguous ridges belonging to Virse have been converted into infield."

"One observation must not be omitted. The swine have done more damage to the town of Norwick than all the other agents of destruction together - a circumstance which demands the serious and immediate interference of the Proprietors." (Ibid)

These surveys were expensive; Irvine forestalled anticipated criticism of his price with this caveat; "From the peculiar nature of the survey with the almost unequalled intermixture, subdivision and confusion of property which exists in Norwick, the undertaking could not miss to be tedious." (Ibid)

(Most of the bill was paid by John Mouat; since 1778 the Mouats had controlled a quarter of Kirkaton and Sandil, half of Digron and all of Turfhoull.)

We can now consider the origins of this unusually complicated pattern, in the light of Thomson's study and of the work done by Clouston (1919) and Marwick (1952) in Orkney. They found the same sort of subdivision of the original large Norse farmsteads as we saw in Funzie, and they identified a secondary (perhaps thirteenth century) pattern of settlements, generally discrete farming units with relatively little subdivision. These early outsets are clearly represented in Norwick by North Deal and Hoya. There are many other examples in Unst, such as Gardin, Vatnigarth, Woodwick, Quoyhouse, Watquoy and Crosbister. Unst also had two fine examples of large, undivided farms attached to the residence of a large landowner; Buness and Muness (Belmont being an eighteenth century farm and mansion superimposed by the Mouats on a pre-existent township, Wadbister).

Marwick and Clouston relied heavily on the etymological

evidence of place-names, but before considering such evidence for Norwick there are some fairly obvious generalisations one can make from the topographical evidence alone. Virse and Turfhoull are clearly separate entities from the steadings at Kirkaton, Sandil and Digron which were grouped around a village green. From the fact that Virse and Turfhoull had rigs scattered throughout the infield and outfield of the township, alongside those of the "lower houses", we might conclude that from a very early date they had a full share in the land proportional to their value of merks of land. It is however, noticeable that these outlying steadings had comparatively larger blocks of land immediately adjacent to their houses than did the more crowded farms in Sandil, Digron and Kirkaton.

In his great work "The Place-names of Shetland"*, the Danish scholar and philologist Jakob Jakobsen considered that many of the earliest settlements dating from the Norse "land-takings" of the eighth and ninth centuries could be identified from the topographical and personal elements in the farm names; Turfhoull and Sandil are the obviously topographical names in Norwick proper (excluding North Dale). Turfhoull is an accurate description of the slight eminence, originally peat-covered like the surrounding meadow lands, on which the present farm of Troll stands.** Sandil is clearly a topographical name for the whole valley in which the township is situated, i.e. Sand-dale. At the present state of the art

* Not to be confused with his lecture "The dialect and place-names of Shetland"

** Incidentally the local tradition is now that Troll means "Troll-hall", but the eighteenth century rentals show clearly that it is "Turfhoull" - a salutary example of the dangers of folk-lore.

of Shetland place-names it seems safe to identify Sandil as the original settlement established (or taken over from its pre-Norse inhabitants) by the first Norse settler to arrive at Norwick. Norwick itself is the topographical name of the bay at the foot of Sand Dale, and although used as a collective name for the township and the Scattald from the earliest times there is no farm of that name - the same situation is found in Haroldswick, Burrafirth, Uyeasound, Baltasound and of course Wick scattald elsewhere in the island.

If Sandil is the name of the original farm, then why does it only have 16 of the 144 merks in the township (excluding Vellie, Virse (glebe) and Hoya)? A clue lies in the etymology of Digron, which Jakobsen (1936) identified as "Digrheimr", from the Old Norse "Digger" meaning either "big" or "stout", or from "dygr" meaning "strength", "goodness" or "quality". In this context both meanings are applicable, for Digron had exactly twice as many merks of land as Sandil, although the same number as Kirkaton.

The meaning of the name Kirkaton is clear enough; the farm belonging to, or standing near, the church. It is the steading nearest to the old kirkyard and the ruins of the medieval chapel. The problem is how to date it; Celtic churches were probably established in Shetland by the end of the sixth century (Wainright, 1964) and it may be that Kirkaton referred to a Celtic church that the (probably pagan) Norsemen found when they arrived in Norwick. The Norse themselves probably adopted Christianity in the mid-ninth century (Ibid, 160) so it could also apply to a Scandinavian Christian church (many of which were on the sites of pre-Norse churches). If we assume that Kirkaton was in existence when Norwick was skatted in 880, the name might date from the period ca. 850-880.A.D. But the characteristic Kirkja- names of the ninth century were

Kirkja-bolstadr names (Ibid, 160) as in Kirkaby (Westing, Unst) and Kirkabister (Bressay). The proximity of the large farm of Sandil may have relegated it to a -ton name rather than the more substantial -bolstadr. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the post-reformation glebe land is in Virse, the small farmstead on the higher ground to the south of the "lower houses", and Kirkaton has been in secular hands since at least the early seventeenth century. An indication that a large proportion of the township of Norwick was once owned by the pre-reformation church is that it paid no Umboth Teinds (payments by tenants to the Crown after the confiscation of church lands). (Neither did Papil, Newgord, Wick, Coldback or Haroldswick (Vade Mecum p. 62); of these the first three also had major ecclesiastical sites (at Papil - a place-name connected with the Celtic Monastic church, at Kirkaby and at Lund respectively) whereas Haroldswick had only one of the small chapels to be found in nearly every scattald. There is no trace of a chapel at Coldback. All the other townships paid umboth teinds.)

The evidence is inconclusive, but a (plausible) model for the development of this township may be postulated as follows:

Date	Developments
Before ca 700	Probably a Pictish-Celtic settlement, with perhaps a small monastic foundation.
700-800	Arrival of settler(s) from Norway who probably took over economic and social control of the settlement, which they (re-)named Sand-dale.
by 880	The settlement probably consisted of 5 farms (Sandil, Digron, Kirkaton, Turfhoull and Deal) but it is possible that the 14½ merks of land at which the township was valued referred only to 1 large farm, Sandil. By the time Sandil was split into Sandil and Digron the farms of Kirkaton and Turfhoull were almost certainly in existence, for the reasons stated above.
ca 1100-1300	The farms of Vellie, Virse and Housagord (Hoya) can probably be ascribed to this period, which probably saw the arrival of a second "wave" of Norwegian settlers coinciding with increased subdivision of the original farms between the heirs of the original settlers.

by ca 1450 The pattern of extensive subdivision of arable land, grass and meadow between numerous owner-occupier udaller farmers was probably well-established.

ca 1500 - 1650 Although the incoming Scots rent-farmers and landowners probably acquired lands in Norwick soon after the transfer of Shetland to Scotland in 1469, the "unequalled" subdivision among udallers and the survival there of the Shetland Norn language until after 1700 (later than almost anywhere else in Shetland) suggest that they did not make significant accumulations of land there until the mid-seventeenth century.

ca 1650 - 1700 The expansion of the permanent arable lands of the township into former grass and occasional arable lands (e.g. in Udavedda, Sprettiman's Pund, Troal's Gardie etc.) probably took place in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century; the high level of ley lands recorded in the first decades of the eighteenth century suggests that some of this land reverted to pasture and was not taken back into cultivation until the period of population growth in the second half of the eighteenth century.

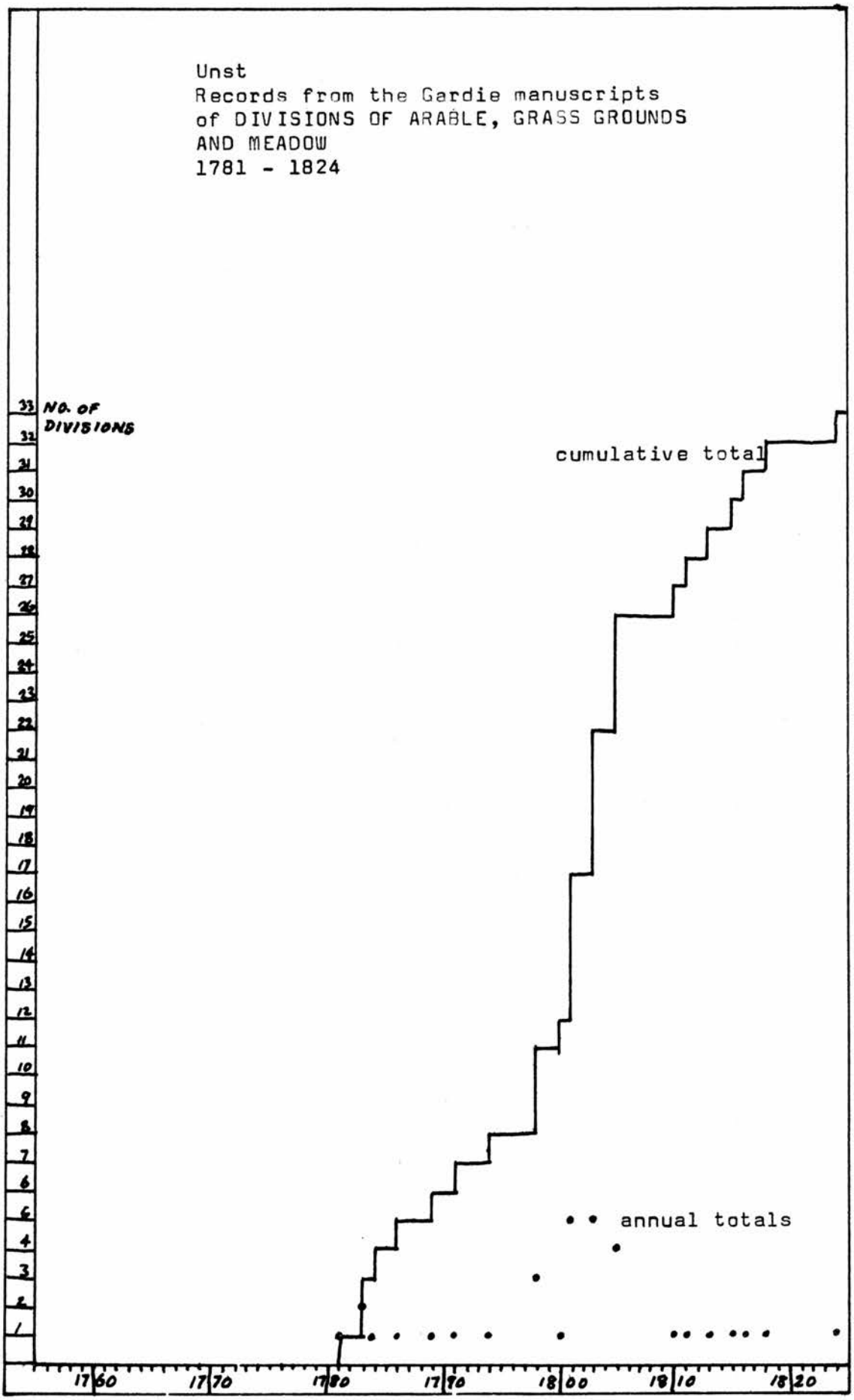
ca 1750 - 1800 The large-scale enclosures of former hill land (Mulapund etc.) on the western boundary of the township can be dated to the late eighteenth century and were planned and organised by the heritors, unlike earlier enclosures which had probably resulted from piecemeal activity (including "gripping") by tenants and udallers on an imperceptible scale.

As at Funzie the evidence is that the run-rig system here developed from the subdivision of several Norse farms, and the pattern has obvious affinities with the run-rig found throughout Highland Scotland despite the absence of annual "lotting" of arable. As in Funzie there is no sign of the type of the spontaneous agrarian communism that the run-rig was once thought to represent.

Postcript; although the rigs marked on the 1822 map obviously had the purpose of delineating one man's land from another, they had another purpose that may have been incidental or may have preceeded the delineating function; namely, drainage. Unfortunately the surveyor of 1822 and subsequent "improvers" did their work so well that it is now extremely difficult to trace the individual old rigs on the ground, and even aerial infra-red photographs are very confusing.

Chapter 5:12. Other Divisions of Arable

Graph 57


Unst
Records from the Gardie manuscripts
of DIVISIONS OF ARABLE, GRASS GROUNDS
AND MEADOW
1781 - 1824
NO. OF DIVISIONS
cumulative total
annual totals
1760
1770
1780
1790
1800
1810
1820

Chapter 5:12. Other Divisions of Arable

The earliest plankings recorded at Gardie were in 1781, when the outset of Vellie in Norwick and the township of Snarravoe were measured and divided. It is important to understand just what was being measured; Thomas Mouat pointed out that

> "inclosed meadow and grass grounds ... have in former times been computed as <u>equal</u> in value with the arable lands ... "
> " ... a portion of grass or meadow land belongs to each merk land in every farm ... the money rent is attributable to the grass and meadow <u>part of the merk</u> ... "
>
> (<u>Mss OSA Unst 1791</u>) (My emphasis)

Thus the meadow and grass grounds were invariably measured and divided at the same time as the arable. It seems to have been usual though not universal to build dykes around the new divisions, but in many cases the planking merely amounted to a re-arrangement of parcels of land within the ring-fence and no extra fences were thought necessary as long as the tenants were communally responsible for keeping up the township's <u>external</u> dykes. These external dykes were of crucial importance in keeping the livestock off the fields in spring and summer. The tenants' swine though small were particularly destructive, as noted by the surveyor of Norwick. Thomas Mouat explained to Sir John Sinclair;

> "The Shetland breed of hogs resemble much the Boar in shape, are long legg'd, round backed, thin bodied, long and shaggy haired. They are very mischievous in rooting up the grass with their snouts, which are so strong and muscular that they break the rings that are put in them to prevent rooting - and they thus become a great nuisance being generally allowed to range in a lawless manner over the fields. The largest when fatted weigh about 1 cwt."
>
> (<u>No. 1,369</u>)

From the minutes of a planking of Framgord township in 1783 it is clear that the early divisions were carried out with a view to the convenience of the lairds rather than the tenants, who were not consulted. This division was first suggested by Thomas Sanderson of Buness, who sent Thomas Mouat detailed suggestions for the method of division, suggesting

that it should be made "with a view to giving each heritor a just proportion of quantity and quality ... " (March 1783) (My emphasis)

Thomas Mouat claimed in 1793 that

"The advantage resulting from the division of Clibberswick has been experienced and acknowledged by the tenants and I am confident that the division of Haroldswick will be attended with equal advantage and satisfaction on experience."

(No. 1,328) (My emphasis)

His reasons for advocating the planking of Baliasta in that year were written down in a circular letter to persuade the other heritors, especially the troublesome lesser owners, to agree to it;

"It is well known to you all, that no town in Unst requires a division and planking more than Baliasta does, from the inequality and discontinuity of the lands there, and in no place is there more damage to the corns yearly, from the detached situation of some of those lands. By the removal of a few houses a very great improvement would be made in that place.

"If any of you should have a little advantage in the greater extent of your lands, compared with others in that town, I have no doubt that advantage will be compensated on a division by the compactness and contiguousness [sic] of your property; and I have reason to expect you will act on more liberal principles than to refuse your consent on that account, seeing I have given mine; whereas in Haroldswick, I expected to lose in quantity of land, and also to lose the advantage of holding other people's lands that lay undivided with my property. And the probability that any advantage such of us may presently have, has been unfairly obtained by our tenants, off ley lands in their neighbourhood from time to time, should in equity induce us to make retribution. The more especially as we have an equal chance to gain in one place, as much as we lose in another.

"I therefore propose you will all please to join in a planking of Baliasta next spring in April or May, when the day is long, by which means the expense will come to be moderate, and when I hope we may procure Mr. L. Leisk to execute it."

(Ibid) (My emphasis)

Planking of a township was equally advantageous to the heritors whether they were planning to increase the number of tenants or to make fewer and larger farms. It is important not to assume that measurement and division meant sub-division. They were merely a way of tidying up the apparent confusion of proliferating runrig.

In the period 1777-1824 the Gardie papers record the planking of over a third of the 122 rooms in Unst, although none for Bressay (where there was virtually only one heritor). Between 1781 and 1794 there was one division every year or so, followed by a lull until 1798. Between 1798 and 1805 there were no fewer than 18 divisions and plankings, with as many as five rooms being dealt with in 1801 and 1803, the peak years. Another lull in activity lasted until 1810, after which year there was on average about one division a year until 1818, when they again became less frequent. By 1810 William Mouat could boast that:

> "The planking of run-rig and division of pro indiviso lands commenced later in Unst than in any part of Shetland, and now almost all the lands of Unst even are planked and divided."
>
> (No. 1,943)

Two points are immediately obvious;

1; The large number of divisions around 1800, when there were unprecedented numbers of tenants absent in the Navy;

2; the apparent correlation between the incidence of divisions and the periods of food shortage in 1781-1786 and 1801-1807.

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BALIASTA AND BALTASOUND FROM HOY 'LAND.

JWB

Chapter 5:13. Divisions of Commonty

Divisions of commonty were usually dealt with separately; the first one suggested in the Gardie papers was in 1793 for Baliasta, the largest scattald in Unst* (larger than the whole island of Bressay) and owned by more heritors than any other. Mouat's eagerness to see this common hoga divided was due to recent encroachments by other heritors and their tenants rather than by any desire to revolutionise the agricultural system. He complained that all the heritors except himself had taken in land from the commons to enlarge their tenants' holdings, but it took a really spectacular piece of insolence to goad him to action; On 21 November 1793 he awoke to discover that during the night a band of 43 men, all but 7 of them from Baliasta scattald, had erected a turf fence enclosing a piece of common land at the head of Baltasound (where the Skiphoull shop now stands). The ringleader was Hosea Hoseason of Aywick, the amateur surveyor and minor Yell laird, who owned some land in Baliasta. Only a week previously another laird, John Ross of Scarpoe, had enlarged his farms in South-the-Voe scattald (on the south shore of Baltasound) by another unauthorised enclosure, but there was little that Mouat could do about that as he was only a minor heritor in South-the-Voe scattald.

In Baliasta it was a different matter; a complaint was sent to the Sheriff substitute leaving him in no doubt as to Mouat's indignation; the malefactors were rounded up and he had the pleasure of forcing them to demolish their dyke and replace the turves on the ground, in broad daylight. There were no more clandestine fences built "under silence of night", but the arable of Baliasta was not divided until 1801 and the commonty not physically divided until 1823, in the

* N.B. - Included Cliff and Quoyhouse.

"gold rush" for mineral rights. (See below.) It is noteworthy that it was the tenants who were punished; there is no record of Hosea Hoseason being penalised in any way and he was to be a thorn in Mouat's side for many years to come.

Such divisions of commonty as did take place in this period were purely formal affairs to establish what proportion of each hoga a heritor's tenants were entitled to use. Line-of-sight marches had been used for centuries to mark the boundaries of the scattalds themselves, and the hogas were initially divided in the same way in these early processes of division. There was not the capital nor, during the Wars, the labour, to divide the commons physically, and as more and more scattalds came under the influence of one dominant heritor (in Unst Thomas Mouat) the need for physical divisions correspondingly decreased.

SHEEP FARMING

The incentive to divide the hogas was a new use to which the land could be put; apart from such extraordinary cases as the mineral exploitation in Baliasta scattald, this use was almost always sheep farming, on a large scale and on behalf of the lairds, not the tenants.

In 1791, when Thomas Mouat began a long correspondence with Sir John Sinclair on this and other topics, it seemed a promising line of agricultural improvement. With his second letter he enclosed samples of sheepskins produced on his estate which, Sir John reported, the Highland Society considered to be the finest examples of the Shetland breed; he suggested that Mouat establish a sheepskin processing industry. This was not taken up, but Mouat and others immediately instituted the Highland Board's system of offering premiums to those tenants producing the best sheepskins and wool. The first premiums all went to North Yell where, Mouat maintained, the Shetland breed had been least interbred with

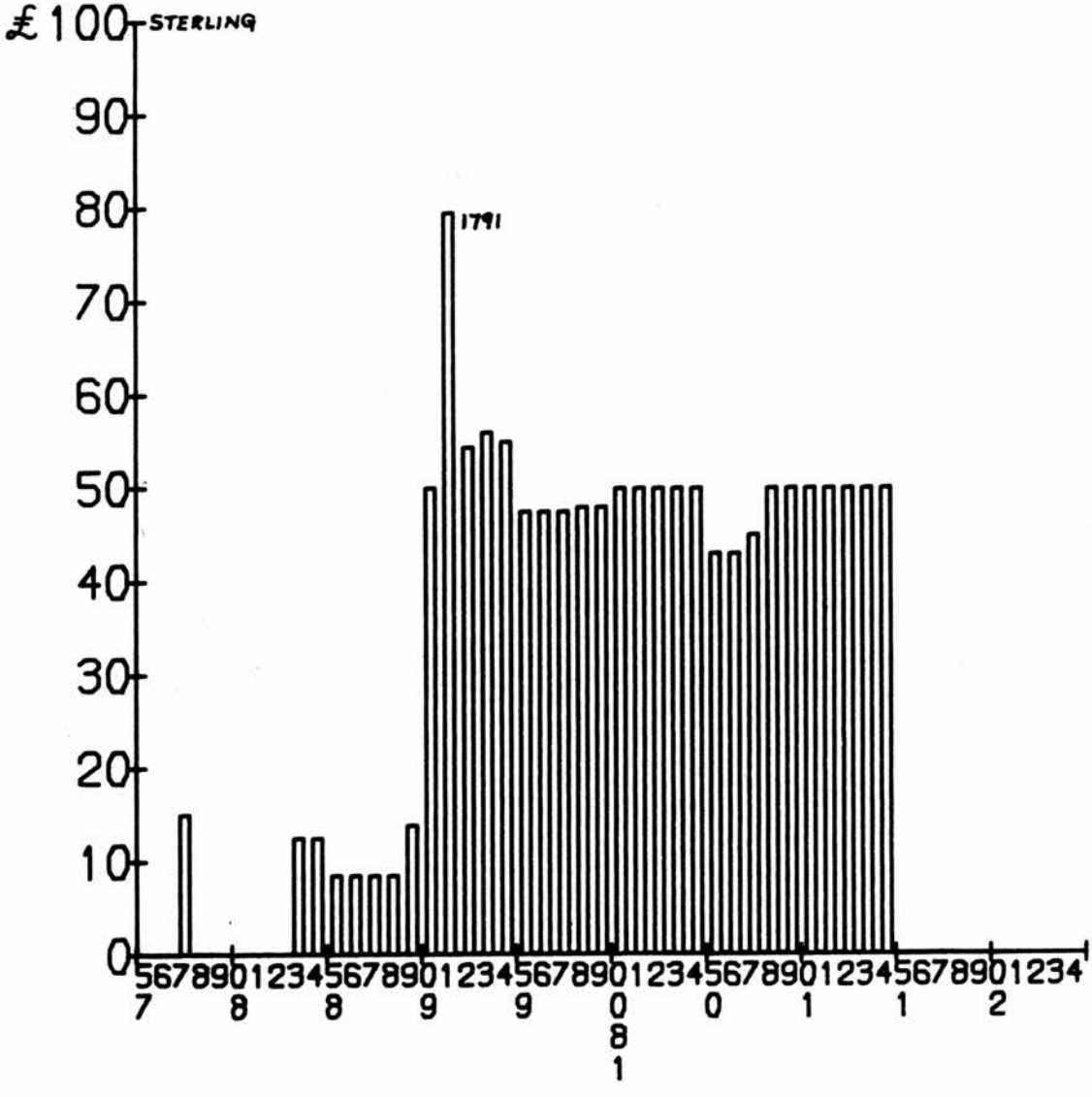
Value of Thomas Mouat's SHEEP

as inventoried at 31 December each year

in £ sterling

NB It is likely that these figures are only rough estimates.

Source; Thomas Mouat's ledgers.



other sheep. Edmondston also noted the sudden interest in sheep farming, but reported that since 1793 "no regular attempts have been made to improve the breed, or refine the quality of the wool, except by a few gentlemen who possess small islands." Thomas Mouat was one of them, and he used the uninhabited grazing islands of Wether Holm, Haaf Gruney and Linga (all lying off the south coast of Unst) for his breeding experiments.

In 1777 he had owned about 120 sheep, and as late as 1789 about the same number, following an outbreak of sheep scab in 1786. (Edmondston, II, 219) Edmondston attributed the occurrence of both scab and sheep blindness (which latter complaint was first recorded in Shetland in 1770) to the importation of animals intended to improve the native breed, but which proved to be infected. The effects of scab could be disastrous, especially in dearth years; in extreme cases, "Many individuals who had four or five hundred sheep a few years ago, have not now more than half a dozen." (Ibid, 220) Corroborating evidence comes from Bressay, for which two teind rentals survive at Gardie from 1801 and 1808; both list the numbers of sheep and cattle owned by each tenant; only two rooms, Crueton and Insista, had more sheep in 1808 than in 1801; most lost at least half of their flocks in the scab outbreak of 1805-1806.

Edmondston devoted a section of his book to "Observations on the introduction of sheep-farming into Zetland" and mentioned that

> "A Zetland gentleman has already brought this matter to the test of experiment. He did indeed convert a considerable tract of arable land into open pasture ground, but possessing several large islands, he was able to carry on the system of sheep farming without much inconvenience to his tenants. He raised a large flock in a few years, and on the first attempt to sell the carcases at Lerwick, the only town in the country, the price offered was considered fair, and the scheme promised success. But as the immediate demand was soon

supplied, the purchasers availed themselves of the necessity of the case, and refused to buy more, unless the price was reduced to a standard of their own. As the owner of the sheep however was under no necessity of selling them under what he conceived to be their value, he chose rather to keep them to himself than to comply with an unreasonable demand, and he sent no more to the market at Lerwick. The wool, also, which the flock yielded, sold at Leith at comparatively a low rate."

(1809, I, 219-229)

He did not give the date of the experiment, and it may refer to a venture in Delting in the early 1770's, described by P. W. Greig in "Annals of the Parish of Delting";

"In this district an early attempt was made to introduce sheep farming to Shetland. Shortly after he came into possession of the estate of Busta, Gideon Gifford "[who came of age in 1769]" turned out from their holdings the crofters to the south and west of Olnafirth Voe, and laid down the whole district as a sheep run. What is now known as the Old House of Voe was built for a sheep farmer, Mr. Welch, and a large number of sheep were turned loose on the pasture. Scab, however, broke out for the first time (it is believed) in Shetland and hearly all the sheep died."

(1892, 13)

It may be that Edmondston was referring to a more recent venture by John Mouat in Bressay, for in a rental of the island made in 1804 with a view to raising the rents, there was the curious entry against the township of Aith, "To J. Mouat for a sheep farm".* Aith was an ideal site - a township of 33 merks with a peninsula of grazing land separated from the rest of the island by the infield of the township; (Old Norse; eid = an isthmus); it was also near the uninhabited islets of Beosetter and Gunnister Holms, and the two holms of Score. The fate of the venture is not recorded and we must assume that, if it ever got off the ground, the severe losses of the 1801-1807 dearth and the associated scab outbreak put a stop to it. Not until 1871 was Aith finally cleared for sheep.

From the fragmentary records of the numbers of sheep owned by Thomas Mouat (graph 59) it is seen that in 1790 the value of his flocks rose suddenly from £18:10:0d to £50 sterling, and the following year

* The following year John Mouat drew up a scheme for the division of Bressay into five large farms.

reached a peak of 530 head, valued at £79:10:0d. For three years they remained around the 400 - 450 mark, but had declined to 370 by 1796. Although the value of the sheep is recorded from 1783 to 1816, the ledgers only give numbers for 1791 to 1796, the period of his initial enthusiasm. After 1796 there was no effort to make an accurate count each year, and apart from a slight decline in the estimated value in 1807-1809 the sheep were entered as "worth about £50" - probably about 400 head. By 1795 Sir John Sinclair was enquiring anxiously about the progress with sheep farming, apparently after a gap of two years in their correspondence. He persuaded Mouat to write a paper on the livestock of Shetland (No. 1,369), which included a despondent chapter on sheep diseases.

The significant cause of these early failures was the lack of an adequate local market. The absence of anything like a regular shipping service capable of carrying large numbers of livestock prevented the export of any quantity of live animals until at least 1838. (Donaldson, 1966, 14).

As late as 1874 Skirving noted that only in the previous ten years had there been a regular export of sheep on the hoof.

Chapter 5:14. "Conversations with the Bressay Tenants"

If Thomas Mouat was disillusioned by his sheep-farming experiments, his nephew William Mouat was still eager to try his hand at agricultural improvements, and it is to his efforts in Bressay that we must now turn.

William Mouat's early career was not auspicious; after incurring the wrath of Principal Brown of Aberdeen University, (in whose house he was lodged on the insistence of his uncle Thomas) for various misconduct including drunken carousing, whoring and insolence, he removed to Edinburgh in 1803 to be apprenticed to James Ferguson WS. He liked the legal profession even less than the dour academics of Aberdeen, and in 1805 turned his attention to the possibilities of retiring to lead the life of a Shetland landlord; expressing his disgust with the profession of Writer to the Signet, he explained to his father that

"I have on the other hand a strong turn towards a country life, farming has been ever since I recollect one of my favourite studies."

(W.M's Letter Book, 7.11.1805)

John Mouat was unimpressed and in April 1806 detailed his objections (smarting perhaps from the failure of his own sheep-farming plans);

"As to Shetland, a man already possessing a land estate or income producing more yearly than his wants required, and who understood fencing and agriculture much better than the people here do, might I doubt not lay out his surplus money in that way very agreeably while doing and with a high probability of a remote reversionary interest, but he who cannot be much and long in advance will certainly not succeed in that line - as to you, you know nothing about it, it has cost you no pains, the certain condition of every useful knowledge, and there is not one in the country [Shetland] fit to act with or even advise you. At the end of the first year you would have nothing to pay your rent out of the money laid out in stock or improvement of the soil; you would be out of your reach, you would be disappointed and disgusted and have to seek your bread in another way, so every idea of your farming for present support is out of the question."

(No. 1,766; 11.4.1806)

William was accustomed to his father's jeremiads and would not be put off, and besides, in the following year he married Eliza Cunningham, the orphan heiress of the small Pitarthie estate in Fife, so he was in a position to lay out some money on the scheme. Nonetheless it was not until 1811 that he was able to persuade his uncle to let him have the lease of Bressay and Noss, until then in the hands of Bruce of Sumburgh's former tacksman Laurence Hughson of Bigton. (Nos. 1,958/1,959). In November 1810 he wrote to his uncle expressing his preference for Bressay in any future division of the estate between himself and "the Camerons" - his sister Margaret and her husband Captain William Cameron of Dingwall.

"As far as I am able to form any judgement of its relative value I would prefer Bressay to any other equal extent of land perhaps in Zetland. Its insulated situation, together with being almost all one property, is a very great advantage and one almost peculiar to itself. Its soil is improveable or perhaps more so than most places in Zetland. It affords great facilities for any sort of manufactures which may be attempted and has the best situation for making the most of its superfluous produce whether for shipping the exportable goods or selling those for home consumption. ... I would give Bressay and Noss the preference if I had my choice not only to an equal but almost double extent of present value of property anywhere else. This is merely in a pecuniary point of view, but if I were ever coming to settle in Zetland it would have a double value in my eyes as I should prefer it to any other situation I know, for a residence."

By the time he took over Bressay it had already felt the effects of the Mouat dynamism; in 1804 John Mouat had supervised a thoroughgoing revision of the rents; 9 of the 11 farms whose rents were increased in 1804 were outsets, although most of them very ancient ones (e.g. Everby, Daal, Bruntland, Garth and Crueton etc.). Rents in the larger townships of Beosetter, Gunnister, Setter, Maill, Uphouse and Midgarth were actually reduced per merk, but in most cases the number of tenants went up accordingly - one of the few substantiated examples of sub-division taking place in this period of dearth. This revaluation

followed a suggested new rental composed in 1801 but not then implemented; it is noteworthy that in 1804 the actual increases were greater than originally suggested (in 1801) for no fewer than eight of the most valuable townships whereas only five farms escaped with lower rents than threatened in 1801.

William Mouat lost no time in following his father's example; in 1812 he raised the rents again, as well as forbidding the tenants to keep "house-wives" (who probably spent most of their time knitting for the Lerwick market). They were forbidden to own sheep or other livestock "in halvers" with people not resident in the island - an obvious reference to the Lerwick merchants with whom the Bressay people always had numerous financial contacts.

"Experience has established" he proclaimed, "that the tenants having sheep in halvers with persons out of the island have introduced great inconvenience by having a multiplicity and by the want of care bestowed on that kind of sheep."

He also insisted on the old Country Act that forbade the keeping of "scar" (i.e. un-tamed) sheep and bade them "caa" (i.e. herd) them at regular intervals "that they may be more tractable when the regular punding season arrives." (No. 1,978)

Until the death of his uncle, William Mouat was in a difficult position, for although both John and Thomas Mouat were lairds in their own right, he was obliged to pay £240 a year for Bressay like any other tacksman. Thomas Mouat rubbed it in when he denigrated his nephew's expenditure on Gardie House saying that "the house of Heogan [a plain 2 storey booth] is sufficient for merely a tacksman of Bressay ... "

(No. 2,225, 6.1.1815)

When William complained about the high rent and claimed that his improvements to the house and the ground had increased the value of his uncle's property by at least £1,000, Thomas Mouat sneered "The devil it is,

Advocate: how will you make that out? Have you not added a cypher in that sum?" (Ibid) In December 1816, during a fit of depression following the death of his wife Betsy, Thomas confided to his brother that he suspected William of scheming to seize the entire estate for himself. (No. 2,318: 11.12.1816)

Few of William Mouat's estate accounts have survived in such detail as his uncle's, although his notes on "Conversations with the Bressay tenants" of 1811 are an invaluable exception. An indication that he did indeed find it hard to pay the rent is in a letter asking his Solicitor for a further £150 credit in July 1813;

> "If I could get this year and the next over and have my farm enclosed, my house habitable and some necessary repairs given to the tenants I would have little fear of managing to live upon the part of our income arising on this side of the water ... "

The farm in question was the township of Keldabister nearby Gardie House (which stands on a piece of ground formerly known as Keldabister Banks); William Mouat apparently cleared it of tenants (apart from those required to farm it for him) and planked the township lands to create the home farm of Gardie that is now called Maryfield. Many of the fine walls surrounding the house and farm date from this period.* A grieve was brought from Pittarthie to apply such of "Scotch farming" as was practicable.

The reference to "our income arising upon this side of the water" is interesting; his lawyer George Veitch managed the Fife estate. Here too a policy of "improvement" was pursued until it was realised (in 1819) that more money could be had by letting the entire lands for grazing. In 1824 he sent his Bressay-trained grieve, John Gray, to Pittarthie to replace the unfortunate William Aitken, whose pitiful letters

* See Frontispiece.

show that he was finally evicted in December 1824 with his ailing wife and pregnant daughter (that was the year it snowed in October). In Bressay William Mouat was at least in personal contact with the people whose lives he controlled and there is no recorded instance of the kind of brutality shown by his agents to William Aitken. (William Mouat's Letter Books)

His efforts at improvement were not merely blind imitations of the movement in the south; he was well aware of the agricultural peculiarities of Shetland, and in 1811 he took the trouble to visit his uncle's factor Thomas Leisk at Lunna, from whom he took copious notes on every aspect of "country business". (No. 1,962) In 1814 he founded "The Shetland Society", a group of the younger lairds interested in "improvement." The first annual report of 25 October 1815 (No. 2,253) revealed that the committee of the Society had interested itself in subjects as diverse as the regulation of ferry charges (a preoccupation of the former Commissioners of Supply), and provision of good turnip seed at a Lerwick shop - for turnips were still regarded as garden roots although introduced as early as the 1740's.

In the first year lack of funds obliged the Society to restrict the distribution of agricultural premiums to "common tenants", although they noted the financial inability of most of these small tenants to carry out any improvements whatever; they urged the division of common property and the valuation of teinds (without which such division was technically impossible), and the proper herding of livestock in the common pasture; they suggested that the heritors should pay an itinerant craftsman to travel around the islands repairing agricultural machinery and tools. They considered that the division of commons

" ... if connected with a judicious exchange of intermixed property would in a very short time quadruple the rent of every estate in Shetland; besides raising a class of men who form a most desirable

population for every country but who do not exist in this - that of intelligent industrious farmers, in easy circumstances, whose exertions would carry improvement to an extent of which there is at present hardly any idea and of which the poor and ignorant people who now possess the soil, could not be expected to dream."

They also suggested a reading list, including resolutions of the heritors of Caithness in 1800, printed in Volume II of the "Farmer's Magazine", which they heartily endorsed as being equally applicable in Shetland. (No. 2,253)

What Thomas Mouat thought of the Shetland Society is not recorded, but he took a jaundiced view of most of his nephew's activities; his and his brother's attitude to the Bressay experiment stemmed from doubt as to William's financial and technical qualifications rather than doubt as to the methods he used. Both had themselves been enthusiasts for enclosure, sheep farming, field turnips and the rest of the improver's stock remedies, and despite their disappointments had persisted in their efforts to enforce what they regarded as good husbandry on their tenants. John Mouat's farm at Annsbrae in Lerwick (today under concrete and tarmac) drew favourable comment from both Mr. Shirreff (1809) and from Sir Walter Scott on his visit in 1814.

When Thomas Mouat had been set up as a laird by his father in 1775 (paying no rent) his annual income had given no reason for optimism, nor had the scattered nature of his estate, and yet he had survived the crises of the 1780's. His scepticism about his nephew's efforts was partly jealousy and partly apprehension, having seen him tire of two earlier careers.

In these attempts at "agricultural improvement" are evident all the elements that were to be used later in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; the relative failure of their efforts, as far as the living conditions of the people and the creation of "intelligent farmers" were concerned, was not due to ignorance of the basic elements of improvement.

The continuing impoverishment of the bulk of the tenantry was inevitable (irrespective of "improvements") as long as the "Zetland method" was maintained, and as long as the lairds insisted on standards of personal affluence that an already overtaxed Shetland could not provide for more than a tiny fraction of her population. In the eyes of the people whom they fondly imagined to be under their benevolent care and direction, they appeared to be essentially parasitic and unnecessary. This feeling persisted long after the purge of the Crofter's Commission "froze" the situation in 1886, and manifests itself today in the verbal "bloodsport" of "hunting the lairds".

This at any rate is the impression one gets from the surviving folklore about the lairds. It is not often that verbal or written tradition provides us with an unsolicited testimonial for the lairds from their tenants; I am therefore indebted to Mr Brian Smith for bringing to my attention a curious letter published in the "John o' Groat Journal" in 1871, the year that the Napier Commission attracted renewed public attention to the plight of the Shetland tenants.

This lengthy letter was ostensibly written by an octogenarian Shetlander under the pseudonym of "Truckit Tammie", ("Truckit" signifying one who was a tenant under the Truck system, as later forms of the "Zetland method" came to be known.) It is written in the vernacular, or something like it; with many a pious and wordy digression the author makes the laborious point that the lairds of the period 1800 - 1840 treated their tenants rather better than did their successors and factors in the period 1840 - 1871. It is particularly critical of the infamous John Walker, who held sway as the Mouat-Cameron's factor in the 1860's and whose name is still hated in Bressay a hundred years later.

From the irregular style and the attempts at humour one gets the lingering ffeeling that this document was a hoax, but it is impossible at this distance to verify its authenticity and we must take it on trust. "Truckit Tammie's" comments on Thomas, John and William Mouat are, if genuine, very revealing:

"Da ffirst jantleman dat I wes truckit onder wes a Maister Tammas Moad - Gude rest wi' his saul! In my first mindin' my feader wes rowin fbr da land apo' his propertie, an' da price o' da fish wes sometimes four an'saxpence, an' sometimes five an' saxpence, up an' doon, for green fish wir land wes fifteen shillins a mark, - dat wad be somewy aboot ten or twal shillins a aker. I tink we hed to pay a foou shillins of scat an' teinds, but we hed da hill ta wirsels, an' could cut as mony peats as we laekit ffor naething. (Dat's no da y noo.) I rowed taw or tree yeers i' da sam boat wi' my faeder, alto' I wesna bund ta du sae, bit I laekit it better, as da sma' fish wes a grit help ta da hoose; an' whin my feeder failed I tuik da land, an' continued ta row fbr it. I married, an we keepit da auld folR till dae baith wuer awa': an' be dat time we hed four bairns o' wir ain dat wes a guid help ta wis: an' we lived as happy as da warld kud wiss wes. Maister Moad didna truck his tennants very sair, - his hale tenery laekit him, bit he deed no lang efter I tuik da land, an' left nae air o' his ain, bit he hed a brither's sin wha cam ta air it, - his name wes Maister William Moad, a sin o' Maister John Moad, wha hed a estate o' his ain. He deed shune after his bridder, Maister Tammas, so dat baith da properties fell ta Maister William. I feel sair tempit to tell you a hantle aboot dis Maister William Moad. I kent him lang an' I kent him weel, bit I winna begin what I wad fain say. May a toosan blessins rest on his dust, an' dat praair comes yit frae mair herts dan mine. It wes a reel plaesir ta be truckit onder him; .... He gae his tennants liberty ta fish ta ony man dae laekit; only, dem wha did fish till him, he gae dem da highest price gaen i' da countrie, an' as weel may be guessed, few, if ony, left him for anidder. He nivver alloed da factor ta tak bulback upo' da tennants; he ginerally tuk der pairt in ony disput atween dem. An' sae humble an' sae hamely as he wis! He wad hae spokin ta da laeks o' me, just as if I hed been a jantleman."

William Mouat had obviously taken to heart the advice of old Thomas Leisk, and according to "Truckit Tammie", if you paid your rent and behaved yourself you might get by well enough. Not so if you were a tenant of independent mind and rebellious spirit. In later passages this rather pathetic document confirms that when sheep farming eventually became a viable proposition there was little mercy shewn even to the most acquiescent and obsequious tenants. It says little for the Mouat-Cameron's mid- nineteenth century policies in Bressay and elsewhere that someone like "Truckit Tammie" could actually look back with pleasure on the good old days of his youth, when the "Zetland method" was in full pernicious swing.

PART II

Chapter 6. The Liberal Reward of Labour - Problems of Demography and Labour Supply

" 'The most decisive mark of the prosperity of any country is the increase of its inhabitants.

'Every species of animals naturally multiplies in proportion to the means of their subsistence, and no species can multiply beyond it. It is the demand for men which regulates the production of men.

'The liberal reward of labour is the cause of increasing population. What encourages the progress of population and improvement, encourages that of real wealth and greatness,' says that great philosopher Dr. Adam Smith. The legitimate deductions from these propositions are:

1. That Shetland having increased its population very considerably, has exhibited the most decisive mark of its prosperity.

2. That as no species of animals can multiply beyond the means of their subsistence, Shetland has possessed the means of subsistence adequate to its increased population.

3. That as the production of men has been great in Shetland so has the demand for them and the means of employment been.

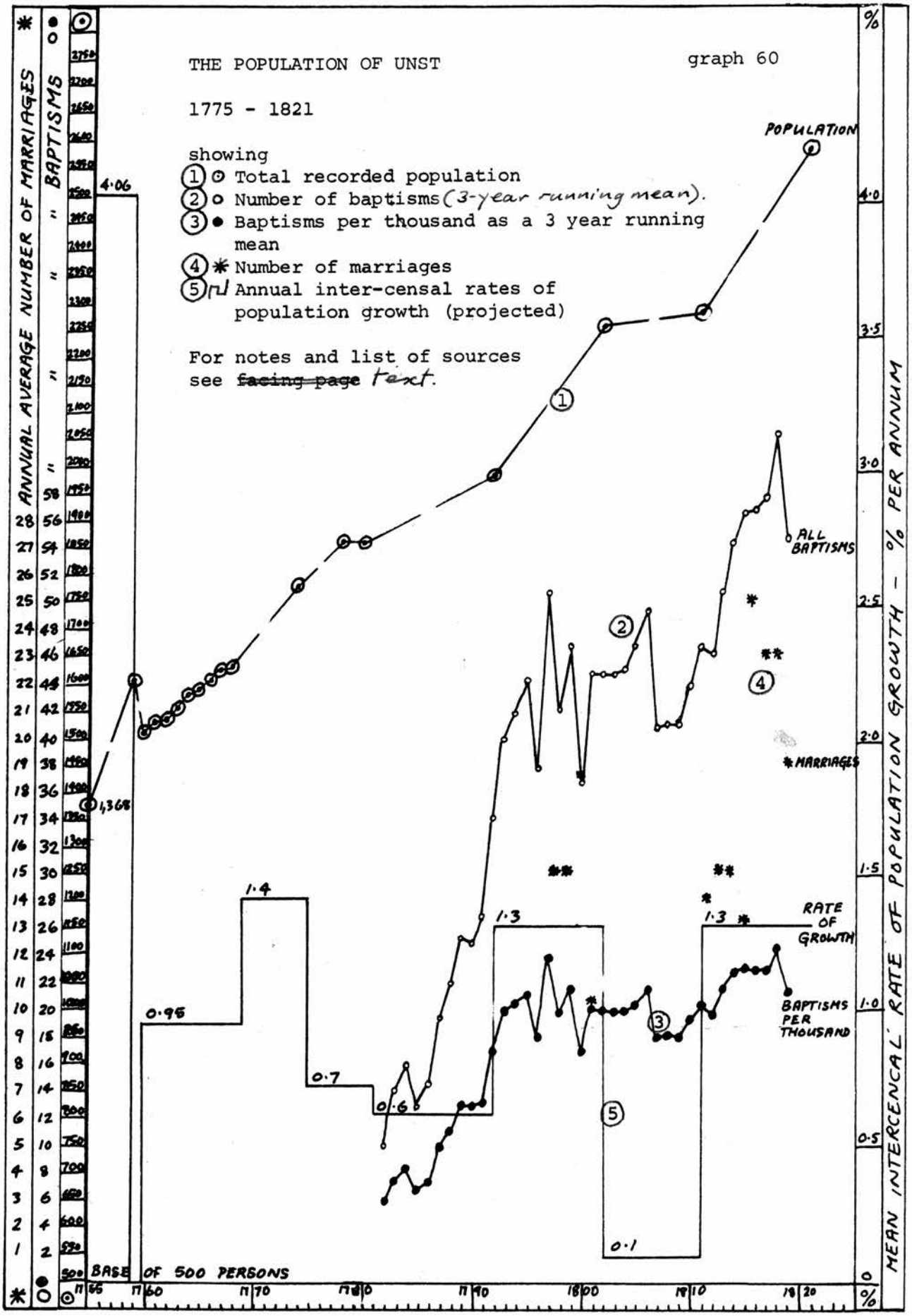
4. That as the increase of population is occasioned by the liberal reward of labour, labour has been liberally rewarded in Shetland.

5. That seeing the progress of population and improvement have been encouraged in Shetland, so has that of its wealth and greatness also."

William Mouat, 1811. (No.1,943)

"From the great waste of peat earth on the eastern side of the island, and the comparatively great extent of cultivated land, it appears that the population of Unst was [anciently] more numerous than at present."

(Thomas Mouat, OSA 1792)


THE POPULATION OF UNST
graph 60
1775 - 1821
showing
1 ⊙ Total recorded population
2 ○ Number of baptisms (3-year running mean).
3 ● Baptisms per thousand as a 3 year running mean
4 * Number of marriages
5 Annual inter-censal rates of population growth (projected)
For notes and list of sources see ~~facing page~~ text.
POPULATION
ALL BAPTISMS
MARRIAGES
RATE OF GROWTH
BAPTISMS PER THOUSAND
4.06
1,368
0.95
1.4
0.7
0.6
1.3
1.3
0.1
BASE OF 500 PERSONS
ANNUAL AVERAGE NUMBER OF MARRIAGES
BAPTISMS
MEAN INTERCENCAL RATE OF POPULATION GROWTH - % PER ANNUM

It is clear that the size and structure of the local population was a crucial factor in the maintenance of the "Zetland method". No apology is therefore required for a digression on population problems.

Chapter 6:1. Demographic Facts and Figures

From the material so far studied it is clear that the demographic trends of Shetland (up until the peak of population in 1861) broadly reflected those for Great Britain as a whole. The increased growth after about 1750 and the very high growth rates of the early nineteenth century are fairly evident. In this respect Shetland parallels the Hebrides, where population generally probably doubled in the second half of the eighteenth century. (MacDonald, 1811, 15). Three recent studies (Barclay, 1967; Coull, 1967; and Sutherland, 1967) of Shetland's population provide a relatively well-documented picture of trends in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The eighteenth century figures have not hitherto been studied in much detail, mainly because they are extremely sparse and unreliable, and so it is fortunate that the Gardie papers contain some scattered data on the size and composition of Unst's population in the later eighteenth century. Graph 60 has been compiled from this source and from other references in the literature. The reliability and significance of this data is discussed in the notes on the sources below, but we can identify several distinct trends within the obvious conclusion that the population of Unst was growing in every sample interval bar that of 1759-1760. The crude annual rate of growth for the period 1760-68 was between 0.7% and 1.3%, the mean being 0.9%, almost twice the rate calculated by Professor Drake (1969) for parts of western Norway at the same period; the rate

in 1768-1774 was probably even higher, averaging 1.4% per annum, but had halved by 1774-1780 and was down to 0.6% in 1780-1792; in the 1790's the rate again doubled to reach 1.3% in 1792-1802, but fell drastically to almost zero growth, 0.1%, in 1802-1811. Between 1811 and 1821 it again reached 1.3%.

This evidence conflicts with Edmondston's remarks that

"The principal increase in the number of inhabitants, between 1755 and 1792, took place between 1770 and 1792; for besides the less general mortality by disease, Great Britain was a peace during a considerable part of that time."

(II, 138)

The evidence of a much slower rate in 1802-1811 agrees with Barclay's estimate of a similar hiatus in population growth for Shetland as a whole in that period, and the hint of revived rapid growth in 1811-1821 also coincides with his overall figures;

(Barclay, 1967, 45)

Chapter 6:2. Notes on the Sources

There are no reliable indications of the population of Unst in the seventeenth century; Donaldson (1958) considered that in the early 1600's it was probably around 1,000, but all estimates must remain guesswork. The earliest figure for Unst is from 1755, collected from the minister by Dr. Alexander Webster. Professor Flinn (1970) and others consider that Webster's work was "a remarkably able and reliable survey", but it is possible that his total for Unst is inaccurate, or did not include very young children, or referred to a date earlier than 1755, for if another figure from the same minister for 1759 is accurate, the mean rate of growth in these four years works out at an extraordinary 4.06% per annum. If they are accurate then it seems that the renewed activity in the fishing industry in the late 1750's was associated with some remarkable demographic developments, at least in Unst.

The minister's figures for 1759-1768 are of great interest because they are the only definite numerical record of population change during a smallpox epidemic in Shetland - that of 1760. The date also give a clear picture of the annual growth rates, to be used as a standard for comparison with rates calculated from sparser figures later in the period 1755-1821. There is no reason to doubt their substantial accuracy; the minister was resident in the parish and must have known (personally) every family, if not every individual. The figures were compiled at Thomas Mouat's request, probably from the parish registers, around 1770 when he returned from his studies in Aberdeen and Edinburgh. The parish records of this period have not survived. The Register of Baptisms only survives from 1776, Marriages from 1797 and Burials from 1832 onwards.

The total for 1774 is that reported to the Rev. George Low by

the minister, Mr. Archibald. The much lower figure for 1777 is almost certainly a deliberate underestimate, for it was reported by William Mouat to the Commissioners of Supply who were calculating on the basis of local population figures how many men each parish should send for the Navy. The 1780 figure was quoted by the Rev. Mr. Ingram in the New Statistical Account of 1842, without attribution but presumably from a parish record that has since disappeared.

There are no other totals extant for Unst for the 1780's although estimates must have been made, as they were in Sandwick, Cunningsburgh and Dunrossness, for the distribution of "charity meal" in 1783, 1784 and 1785. The 1792 figure is that reported by the minister, Mr. Barclay, for the Statistical Account, and may be regarded as reliable, but there are no further records until 1802, when the minister made a count (a year late) for the first census. For 1798, however, there is a list at Gardie of all the people on Thomas Mouat's Unst lands, which at that time comprised 32.6% of the total number of merks in the island. If, on the possibly unjustified assumption that the population density was similar on lands not owned by Mouat, we consider that this list represented 32.6% of the total population, the total calculated would lie on a straight line between the 1792 and 1802 totals.

The 1804 figure is that reported to Patrick Neil, and was taken from an estimate of population compiled for a distribution of charity meal. It is identical to the 1802 figure and was probably derived without revision from the census of that year.

The 1808 total was reported to Mr. Shirreff in 1814 but it is probable that this too was repetition of the 1802 figure, although Edmondston did point out that there had in general been no increase in population between 1804 and 1814.

The 1811 and 1821 totals are from the censuses, which were taken punctually in those years, and the 1819 total is that reported (without any attribution) by O'Dell in 1939.

These figures are illustrated and expanded by several quite detailed contemporary analyses from which we may guess at sex ratios (for 1798, 1802, 1811 and 1821); family sizes (for 1792, 1798, 1802, 1811 and 1821); and birth, death and marriage rates (for 1782-1792 and 1797-1801). As usual with this kind of early data, it is not possible to calculate age-specific mortality and fertility.

SEX RATIOS

A striking feature of these figures is the unbalanced sex-ratio: this was apparent throughout Shetland, for the 1811 census showed that rural ratios of males to females (of all ages) varied from 100:118 in north Yell and Fetlar to 100:130 in Unst, (the highest rural figure). In Lerwick it was an extraordinary 100:164! There is evidence that the number of males was decreasing relative to females. In Unst the ratio rose from 100:112 in 1798 to 100:122 in 1802 and 100:130 in 1811. These overall figures may conceal greater disparities of more demographic significance; thus in North Yell and Fetlar in 1792 the ratio of unmarried men over 20 to unmarried women over 20 was 100:196! As Mr. Dishington of Mid and South Yell put it in the following year,

"A bachelor is a very singular phenomenon in this country."

(OSA, 1792, 574)

Chapter 6:3. Marriages and "Handfasting"

There is little statistical evidence about the age of marriage to corroborate the statements of Dishington and others that, "The system, now universally adopted, of parcelling the lands out into very small portions, that the lairds may have a greater number of fishermen, greatly contributes to early marriages." (Ibid) But there is some evidence that the number of marriages increased very slightly in the decade 1790-1800. The "average" number per annum from 1782-1792 was 14, according to the minister of Unst, and this corresponds with the figure for 1797; in the years 1798, 1799 and 1800 the numbers were 16, 16 and 17 respectively but dropped to 13 in 1801, the first year of the dearth. These figures are too scanty to allow of any definite conclusions, but an indication that they were not exceptional comes from a record for Mid and South Yell (OSA) where there were "on average" 10 or 12 marriages per annum out of a population of about 1400 (compared with 1900 in Unst) over the same 10 year interval. The surviving parish records (1797-1801 and 1812 onwards) are not much help; they do not record the number of common-law or "handfasting" marriages; (it is probable that these were meant as the target in Thomas Mouat's attack on the practice of keeping "house-wives"). They are too scanty for this period to allow of any observation other than that the number of marriages in Unst averaged 12.2 per annum in 1797 - 1801 and 18.4 in 1812 - 1819.

An analysis of the families listed by Thomas Mouat on his lands in 1798 shows that the mean number of inhabitants for each dwelling was about 6, with a fractional tendency to more overcrowding in the north parish than in the two more southerly parishes of Unst.

The 1802 census showed the same pattern for the whole island and suggests that the houses in general were still getting more crowded, except in the south parish. Incidentally there were more females per male in the north parish than elsewhere in Unst in 1802, but it might be a little daring to speculate on fertility differentials from such evidence!

Chapter 6:4. Births and Baptisms

For birth rates we have the minister's "rounded" figures for 1782-1792 and the annual totals for 1797-1801 inclusive, the parish records for 1776-1820, and scattered evidence from elsewhere in Shetland. The 1782-1792 mean of "births" per thousand is, as might be expected, rather higher than the "baptism" rates for 1797-1801 of 31.4, 33.6, 32.8, 27.0 and 31.9 per thousand respectively.

As is usual with this type and age of data, we have no surviving record of stillbirths nor of infant mortality. The Baptism rates must have been considerably below those for actual births. The rounded figures quoted above are from the Old Statistical Accounts. These are supplemented by the parish registers of baptisms for 1781 - 1819 inclusive, preserved in H.M.Register House, Edinburgh. Bearing in mind that we cannot know what proportion of live births was baptised, and that the keepers of the records in this period were, to judge by the state of the documents, extremely careless, lazy and irregular registrars*, we can still make several pertinent observations.

The most striking feature is the trebling of the baptism rate betwe 1781 and 1797 - from an average of about 6 per thousand to around 19 per thousand. There is a noticeable hiatus in this increase in 1784 and 1785, the period of "dearth and ~~xxxx~~ distress" discussed in Chapter 6:8 below, and another slackening of the growth rate in 1789 - 1791. The irregular fluctuations shown for 1791 - 1797 are probably due to clerical error and delayed registering by the ministers, but if they do reflect the true situation it is significant that the latter part of this half-decade saw the return of the Press Gang, which removed many young husbands from Unst.

*There is even a possibility that <u>some</u> baptisms were entered <u>twice</u> in the registers - once under "Baptisms" and again below the names of the parents in the Marriage Register, but the registers are so confused as to names as to prevent us unravelling the confusion. Suffice it to say that <u>most</u> baptisms were only entered once.

The (temporary) return of at least some of the reluctant sailors in the peace of 1801 - 1802 may be related to the subsequent minor peak in baptisms recorded in 1805 - 1806, for the Navy probably did not return in earnest until about 1805. The trough of 1807 - 1809 must have been connected with Naval recruitment of potential fathers but there were also the delayed after-effects of the serious dearth a few years earlier, when we would expect fertility and infant mortality to have been affected by dietary deficiencies. After 1812 the number of baptised infants continued to rise for another six years (the War at sea being effectively over) but this "post-war bulge" also reflects a rapidly growing total population - baptisms rates per thousand were actually quite steady or rising only slowly by that time.

Unfortunately the marriage records, as noted above, are too scanty to admit of correlations with baptismal data, but the curious way in which baptisms were sometimes recorded provides us with a tantalising glimpse of family sizes and the spacing of (baptised) children. Tantalising - because the records cover only a "window" between 1781 and 1819; the standard of registry was particularly poor at both the beginning and the end of this 38 - year period, so there must be considerable gaps in the data. Under the names of marriage partners the Unst ministers would often record the Christian names and dates of birth of their children, * but for some families we have no record of children born before 1781, and for a great many others only the first children are recorded, the other presumably arriving after 1819 and thus being "lost" to us.

There is information of this kind for no less than 158 Unst families. It shows two things: in general families were not large, and the interval between baptised children in the same family was usually two years or more. In only ten families were children baptised in consecutive years and in no case is this event recorded more than once in any single family.

* Unfortunately the entries do not always show the day and month of baptism, so we have only the calender year entries in summary.

The distribution of family sizes was as follows, bearing in mind that because of the "window" effect the number of one- and two-child families is probably exaggerated:

	Size classes							
No. of children per family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
No. of families per class	47	37	38	23	6	3	3	1
Percentage of all families	29.8	23.4	24.1	14.5	3.8	1.9	1.9	0.6
Cumulative percentage totals	29.8	53.2	77.3	91.8	95.6	97.5	99.4	100.0

It is likely that families of two or three children were the most common, though four were not unusual. Larger families, were, like Mr Dishington's bachelors, "a very singular phenomenon". This correlates with the data on sizes of households from Thomas Mouat's list of tenants on his estate in 1798, referred to above. The parents, with 2 or 3 children, plus one or two aged or dependent relatives, add up to an average household size of six or so, which is what Mouat's figures confirm.

The relatively small size of families (later in the nineteenth century families of 6 or more children were to be very common in Shetland) plus the regular spacing of baptised children at two- or three-year intervals, suggest several interesting possibilities. Were the people of Unst practising infanticide, abortion, some form of contraception, or all three? Unfortunately the surviving folklore tells us little and my attempts to elicit information from the (male) generation of 1880 and onwards has produced only raucous and speculative ribaldry!. Some bolder researcher should investigate the subject further. Until some sound evidence is forthcoming it would be idle to speculate on the methods adopted. What is quite clear from these notes on the baptism records is that population control of some sort was almost certainly practised. The regularity of family spacing cannot be accounted for solely by infant mortality from the usual causes.

Despite the controls that may have been used, plus the other checks on birth rates such as disease, malnutrition, Naval impressment and delayed marriage, the population continued to grow. As the figures discussed on Chapter 6:85 demonstrate, this was a "home-grown" natural increase unaugmented by any significant immigration.

Chapter 6:5: Mortality

Perhaps part of the reason for the sex-ratio imbalance, apart from the greater opportunities for men than for women in employment outside Shetland, was that women tended to live longer, then as now. Low (1774) had mentioned the loss of life attendant on the fishing; the minister's estimates for deaths in Unst from 1782-1792 specifically excluded those lost at sea. There is no record from the eighteenth century of such demographic and social catastrophes as "The Bad Day" of 1832 or "The Delting Disaster" of 1881, when dozens of fishermen were drowned in sudden summer gales. Nonetheless the effect on such a small community of the loss of even a few of its energetic young men cannot be overemphasised (cf the demographic and psychological effects on Shetland in general, and on Bressay in particular, of the losses by death and emigration in the two World Wars).

The problem with the eighteenth century records is that those who were drowned and whose bodies were not recovered were probably not entered in the registers (now lost) from which Thomas Mouat's figures came. It is therefore likely that the death rate figures here are underestimated, particularly for young men. For 1782-1792 the minister's "average" worked out at 9.3 "deaths" per thousand, the corresponding figure for 1797-1801 "burials" being 13.3 (11.07, 11.51, 15.05, 12.84 and 15.94 respectively). Despite the qualifications mentioned above it is clear that there was an increase in mortality at the very end of the eighteenth century. This may partially account for the levelling out of the growth curve in 1802-1811, but there were more drastic and more easily-evaluated elements contributing to the same demographic pause. (See below). Comparisons with the

occasional figures for other parishes suggest that there were some regional differences within Shetland. For 1792 we find birth-rates of 23.9 per thousand in Mid and South Yell, 22.3 in North Yell and Fetlar, but only 9.4 in Bressay. In North Yell and Fetlar the birth rate was exactly double the burial rate and natural increase was about 11 per thousand, whereas in the southern parishes of Yell the death rate was only 7.7 and the natural increase about 16. Such discrepancies in so small an area, however, underline the unreliability of the data as much as the inferred diversity of demographic trends.

Chapter 6:6. "The Mortal Pox"

The writers of the Statistical Accounts were in no doubt as to the cause of the increase in population since 1750. The comment for Unst is typical;

"If the numbers have increased ... within these last thirty or forty years [i.e. since 1750 or 1760] it is owing chiefly to the introduction of innoculation for the small pox. For nearly 100 years past, this ... used to visit the island nearly every twenty years, and to carry off ... great numbers of all ages. In 1770 innoculation became general here among all ranks."

(OSA, V, 199)

Razzell (1965) considers that for England and Wales in the later eighteenth century, innoculation

"could theoretically explain the whole of the increase in population and until other explanations are convincingly documented, it is an explanation which must stand as the best one available."

Flinn (1970) thinks Razzell may have exaggerated the effects of smallpox on the area of his study, but in the particular case of Shetland the Razzell theory seems to fit. The devastation caused by smallpox in Shetland is well documented by the published works alone. From these and other sources it appears that there were serious epidemics in 1700, 1720, 1740 and 1760; after 1760 Edmondston noted that

"the periods of occurrence have been very unequal. Previous to that time the intercourse between Zetland and Scotland was by no means so frequent, as between the former and Holland and Hamburgh. It is a curious fact that, during four successive periods the small pox appeared in Zetland every 20 years."

"Several of the contagions seem to have their natural periods of rise and decline, and, when left to themselves, generally appear at regular intervals."

(1809, II, 86)

Another phenomenon is suggested by Professor Smout (1969). He points out in discussing the geographical and chronological distributions of innoculation and smallpox, that in urban areas of Scotland where the disease was endemic, most adults must have had some

degree of immunity. Thus in Glasgow and Edinburgh it was mainly a child-killer. In rural areas, on the contrary, smallpox was not endemic and was commonly introduced from urban areas and/or foreign ports. When it occurred it devastated not only the infant population but also the mothers and breadwinners. In places like Shetland this effect was quite plain; in Fetlar in 1701, when "above 90 died", "most of them" were "married people". (Andrew Bruce of Urie, quoted in Low, 1774, 175)

Smout suggests that the more serious economic effects of smallpox in rural areas may account for some of the enthusiasm for innoculation in places like Shetland, and the relative indifference to it in the cities. It is a curious fact that innoculation was most popular of all in the two extremities of Scotland, Galloway and Shetland, although introduced into the south west 20 years before it was first tried in Shetland in 1761. (Edmondston, II, 86)

It will be seen that those children who did survive the 1700 epidemic and in the process probably acquired some natural immunity, were of reproductive age in 1720; their children, and those of the post-1700 generation who had been born too late to acquire immunity through exposure to the disease, would probably have been most susceptible in the epidemic of 1720. Sure enough, Bruce of Urie reported to Low that most of the 80 people who died in Fetlar in the 1720 outbreak were "21 and under". (Low, 1774, 175) The cycle may have repeated itself in 1740 and 1760.

There was much variation in the contemporary accounts of smallpox mortality; Brand said of the 1700-1701 epidemic that

"so sad have been the desolating effects ... that one told me who arrived here [i.e. Edinburgh] lately from the place, that he verily judgeth the third part of the people, in many of the isles, are dead."

(Brand, 1701, 72-73) (My emphasis)

In that year the population of Fetlar was probably about 400 (a guess) so Bruce's figure of 90 dead suggests that about a quarter of the population had succumbed. In Fair Isle, said Brand, a third of the people died in 1700-1701. In remote Foula, where even today the people have little resistance to influenza epidemics, the mortality in 1720 "was so great, that there were scarcely people left to bury the dead." (Edmondston, II, 87)

Bruce's figure suggests that the 1720 epidemic was less severe than that of 1700, and that the 1740 and 1760 epidemics " ... proved more mild than any of the former ... " (Low, 1774, 175)

... although the disease remained "peculiarly fatal" throughout Shetland (ibid, 194); according to the New Statistical Account of Unst, the "1729" (almost certainly a misprint for 1720 as it is mentioned by no contemporary accounts) and 1740 epidemics "made such havoc, almost depopulating some districts, that they are yet spoken of under the name of the mortal pox." (NSA, Unst, 1842, 40) (my emphasis)

Mr. Dishington, however, thought that at their worst the earlier epidemics had "carried off a fifth part of the inhabitants" and Edmondston estimated mortality in 1700, 1720 and 1760 at about a quarter. (II, 138)

A letter from Robert Hunter to William Mouat in the wintry spring of 1761 suggested that there was some variation from parish to parish in the severity and duration of the disease, and that it was associated with other maladies;

"I hear the smallpox has left your island [i.e. Unst] but that a malignant fever rages; will ye risk that promising boy so long in your pestilential air - send him to Delting where health and Jack [Frost] reigns ... the mortality of that plague the smallpox in your neighbour island Yell I hear is great ... "

(No. 390)

The only epidemic for which we have reliable statistics is that of 1760/1761. The population of Unst fell by 89 persons between 1759 and 1760 (we do not know to which months the figures relate). This was 5.55% of the 1759 total population, but this did not represent the actual mortality from smallpox, for Thomas Mouat reported that "97 died of it, which was then reckonned an easy composition." (Mss OSA Unst f.11)

After such experiences it was not surprising that the people were eager to try innoculation. The Minister of Bressay reported that "they submit to this operation with a degree of readiness that does them credit" (OSA 1794) and very few deaths occurred from the early experiments with innoculation even though it was usually carried out by self-taught local craftsmen who had turned their hand to this new skill. The most famous of them was "Johnny Notions" Williamson, who was immortalised in Dishington's account of Mid and South Yell. It appears that the lairds always encouraged the practice and in many cases paid for it. Nonetheless they were not immediately aware of the necessity of repeating the operation at regular intervals, and after the initial successes in 1761 the campaign for innoculation was relaxed until a minor outbreak in 1769/1770 came as a timely reminder.

It is not known how the knowledge of the process was transmitted to Shetland. A possible theory is that through their marriage and trading connexions with landowning families in the south west (particularly the McCullochs and McMurdos of Kirkcudbrightshire) the Mouats heard of the success of the method there and as a result decided to apply it on their own estates. There is no documentary reference to this process of diffusion apart from an incidental mention

of smallpox in a letter from Janet McCulloch of Ardwall to Thomas Mouat; it is just as possible that they heard of the operation in Edinburgh and that the Galloway connexion is coincidental or complementary.

Chapter 6:7. "Fevers of divers kinds"

Because of their less spectacular and less intermittent nature, the history of other diseases in Shetland is less well-known. From the evidence it appears that most of the complaints of the common people were connected with dietary deficiencies.

The Rev. Brand's work of 1701 contained numerous observations on local maladies. In general he considered that,

" ... it is not unwholesome living here, as appears from the many vigorous old people that abound in these isles, whose health is rather more firm and sound than with us ... " (106)

He attributed this to the quality of the diet, and yet he noted that

"There is no sickness or disease this country is more subject to than the scurvey, as is Orkney likewise, which is occasioned doubtless by their salt-meats, fishes, upon which many for the most part do live, sea air, etc. And sometimes this scurvey degenerates into a kind of leprosy which they call a bastard scurvey and is discerned by hairs falling from the eyebrees, the nose falling in, etc."

(108) (my emphasis)

"These scorbutick persons are more ordinarily in Dunrossness and ... Delting, and are more rare in other places; and that because they have more grey fishes [i.e. piltocks] in these parishes, than in others."

(109)

It seems probable that most of this "scurvey" was connected with vitamin C deficiencies, although the "bastard scurvey" may have been syphilis in some cases. Only one case of syphilis can be identified from the Gardie papers - that of "Muckle Willie" who "died in mortal fear and terror of it", said John Mouat when castigating his son for "catching a dose" in Aberdeen in 1801. Because of the Hamburg connexion alone Shetland was unlikely to have escaped this disease.

O'Dell considered that vitamin deficiency diseases became less common after the introduction of the cabbage plant in the

seventeenth century (1939, 150); but little corroboration has so far been found for this statement. It seems probable that most of the "leprosy" was a form of elephantiasis; local tradition is that the unfortunate sufferers were "set apart" in "leper houses" in the hills, in the belief that it was infectious. Brand, who saw the hand of the Lord everywhere, noted that,

"They have much scurvey grass; God so ordering it in his wise providence that juxtavenenum, nascitur antidotum, that seeing scurvey is the common disease of the country, they should have the remedy at hand."

(121) (my emphasis)

Patrick Menteith made the same point in less teleological terms;

"They want not plants which they make use of for cures of diseases, which are not rife among them, the heather is a great panacea, and they use that and other plants for cureing of wounds and aches."

(1711, 9) (my emphasis)

Brand also described a local medical habit that earlier divines might have interpreted as witchcraft;

"Among the walls of the old chappells are found snails, called shell-snails, which they dry and pulverise, mingling the dust with their drink for the jaundice, by which means those who labour under this sickness in three or four days will recover of the same, but if they let this dust ly for a year, without making use of it, it turned into small living creatures or vermine, which they dry over again, if they make any further use of it."

(163)

He also noted the lack of resistance to infectious disease;

"And it hath been observed often by the inhabitants, that when in Holy Providence any sickness cometh upon ... the country it useth to go through them like a plague ... "

(109)

In 1700, 1720 and 1760, apart from smallpox,

"Measles, hooping cough, and the pestilential epidemics, had also a considerable share in the general mortality."

(Edmondston, II, 138)

The minister of North Yell and Fetlar had a more down-to-earth explanations for these visitations;

"Traffic produces riches, and riches luxury, and luxury diseases; and maladies of every kind prevail here perhaps with more violence than anywhere upon the continent."
(OSA, 1794, 282)

He could report no general improvement since Brand's time, except in regard to "leprosy", for "The leprosy rarely makes its appearance in this ministry; for these 20 years bypast, there has been only one set apart."
(282)

"Besides the small-pox, fevers of divers kinds prevail amongst us, particularly intermittents which though long kept under by the use of the bark, rarely fail to land either in dropsies or consumptions."
(Ibid)

In the same year the more optimistic John Menzies wrote that "There are no epidemical diseases here."
(OSA, Bressay, 195)

But he did record that

"Last summer a slow fever which has been brought by a foreign ship, prevailed in Bressay, and has now got into Burra and Quarff. The people could not procure proper nourishment to support them under it, and a considerable number died. Rheumatisms are very common."
(Ibid)

Thomas Mouat also thought that "epidemical diseases" were less frequent by the 1790's. (Mss, OSA, Unst, F.11) The problem with all these comments is that it is hard to identify the diseases; Edmondston, although he was the first to identify measles and whooping cough in Shetland, also fell back on the unexplained "pestilential diseases" at whose identity we can now only guess. Influenza was probably one of them, and tuberculosis another.

Nor can we do more than speculate about the seasonal effects of diet on health; Menteith remarked that,

"The greatest part of the food of the commons in the summer time, is milk and fish.
"In the winter time they feed strongly upon fleshes, for the country affords many cows, sheep and swine, and plenty of fowles,

especially sea fowles, and fresh water fowles. The country affords but little corn, and much of that often shaken by the violent winds or spoiled by the sea water blown in upon it ... "

(1711, 5)

Brand emphasised the point;

" ... for bread failing many of the people in the summer time, that often for 4 or 5 months they will not taste thereof, these fishes [i.e. piltocks] are almost their only meat, and especially the livers ... thought to be more unhealthful than the fishes themselves ... "

(1701, 108-109)

By the early nineteenth century the dietary situation had probably improved a little. The ever-critical Dr. Kemp noted that even "the poorest of the people" grew potatoes and cabbages in "small enclosures built specially for that purpose," (called "planticrubs or crü's).

(1801, 4)

He directed more attention to the starving condition of the livestock than to the diet of the human population, but by 1805 Patrick Neil was horrified at "the most ajbect poverty and misery" of the people;

"I found them even without bread; without any kind of food, in short, but fish and cabbages."

(1806, vi)

A constant hazard to health, then as now, was the widespread and excessive consumption of spirits, but it is not possible to make any accurate estimate of its demographic effects. A local cynic once remarked to the writer that the only reason the fishermen tolerated the harsh conditions and the oatmeal diet at the "far haaf" was that the lairds kept them constantly half-drunk; in their apologia for smuggling spirits the lairds always alleged that "spirituous refreshment" was essential if the men were to continue to face the hardships of fishing (usually several pints of gin per boat for each trip). We should not

underestimate the effect of large quantities of gin on the health of men working 30 miles from shore in open boats, subjected to constant cold, damp and severe physical exertion. It is a commonplace that the worst treatment for exposure is spirits, St. Bernhards or no St. Bernhards.

Chapter 6:8: "Dearth and Distress"

It is generally agreed that the quality and quantity of diet has an effect on the fertility, morbidity and mortality of human populations; "Dearth and Distress" were evidently endemic in Shetland before the mid twentieth century, and rarely more so than in the period of this study. In the whole 68 years between 1756 and 1824 only 5 seasons can be described as "good" from the evidence about the harvests and fishings. Definitions in this area are necessarily vague; the word "famine" should be used with caution, for there is little evidence of people actually "dying of starvation". As Thomas Mouat wrote in 1791;

"I cannot say with certainty that any person has died of want in my time. Severals were near that dreadful fate in 1740, and 1766, and in 1783 ... "

(Mss OSA F.11)

Edmondston agreed that

" ... in 1740 and 1766, although few individuals died of absolute want, there can be little doubt that it laid the foundation of diseases from which the sufferers never recovered."

(II, 138)

It is Edmondston's "great and general scarcity" that is meant here by the term "dearth", although some eighteenth and nineteenth century writers used the word "famine" as an indescriminate synonym.

From the references to dearth in the Gardie papers, in the literature, and in an unpublished manuscript "Notes on Famines" compiled by J. J. Graham from various sources, the following summary has been devised to show the pattern of recurrent food shortages, crop failures, bad fishings and livestock losses of the period.

"Dearth and Distress" 1777-1819.

Year	Comments
1777	Heavy rains in October harvest; some crops ruined.
1778	Larger quantities of oatmeal and bearmeal than usual purchased by Thomas Mouat.
	In February several vessels arrive with meal and potatoes; Dunrossness people in "great Straits".
	May - more than 5,000 bolls of "victual" imported but still more needed.
	August - Dunrossness Kirk Session consider famine relief measures.
	October - an unusually fine harvest month averts famine.
1779	An excellent harvest in the south of Shetland.
1780	Cargo of meal shipped to Shetland in May in expectation of high prices.
	Harvest apparently normal.
1781	Heavy losses of cattle in very severe spring weather. Followed by a serious drought.
	Grain crop heavier than usual but acute lack of fodder.
1781	By November cattle were yielding about 15 lbs of tallow at slaughter, well below normal.
1782	Total crop failure in most of Shetland.
	Snow in October prevented the harvest of what was left.
	Despite poor grain quality there was still plenty of grass.
1783	Another crop failure even worse than 1781.
	Poor in Delting lived on whelks and limpets, but none "died of want".
	500 bolls of meal sent north by Sir Laurence Dundas. More still needed.
	Divisions of charity meal in April, August and December.
	High prices for meal at Lerwick - 6/6d per lispund (30lbs).
	350 bolls meal sold at cheap rates (2/2d per lispund) to the poor in October and another 350 bolls in December.

Year	Comments
1784	In May, the Commissioners of Supply, Ministers and Heritors petition the King, and later Parliament, for relief.
	All seed corn exhausted and most of livestock eaten.
	Petition claims that Heritor's funds exhausted.
	Thomas and John Mouat invest £50 in company to buy meal and sell it to the poor. They make a profit over three years of £9:8:0 (6% per annum).
	The Misses Craigie of Lerwick accused of profiteering by J. Bruce this year.
	Some cattle saved by heavy rains in May and renewed growth of grass, but thousands of cattle and sheep lost before this.
	Dundas sends 300 bolls of meal for his tenants.
	Starving parishioners clamour for meal at the Dunrossness Manse but the minister has none for them.
	April shipments of meal too dear for the poor to buy.
	In July the Government sent large shipments of biscuits and barley (40 tons and 500 quarters respectively), for free distribution to the poor.
	Good weather in October ripened the grain crop.
	More supplies received in December.
1785	100 bolls free meal for the poor sent in February, from collections in English towns.
	March - 858 Bushels barley and 6½ tons oatmeal sent from Newcastle, paid for by public subscription.
	More from Newcastle in April (100 bolls).
	In the same month came 500 bolls meal and 200 bolls Bear from Fraserburgh, all for the poor.
	Late harvest; much of it destroyed by a November snowstorm.
1786	Harvest taken in during very damp weather.
	Followed by an unusually mild winter.
1787	Good harvest.
1788	Best harvest for 7 years. Dunrossness minister condemns the popular rejoicing.
1789	No records.

Year	Comments
1790	Poor fishing season in Unst and Yell.
1791	Another wet harvest but a moderate crop.
	Thomas Mouat makes unusually large purchases of oat and bear meal.
1792	Heavy snow early in March; many sheep and ponies starve to death.
	Price of "victual" (meal) rises to 4/2d per lispund in the first half of the year (double the usual).
	Summer and harvest better in Shetland than on the mainland of Britain.
	Thomas Mouat again buys large quantities of meal.
1793	May - freak snowstorm blasts crops.
1794	Best harvest for many years.
1795	Very cold month of May. Losses of sheep and lambs.
	A thin harvest even in Dunrossness. Oat straw crop lost.
1796	Unst and Yell fishing not as good as in previous 4 good years.
1797	A very good harvest in Unst followed by unusually cold and snowy weather in November.
1798	Severe drought in August but still a good crop.
1799	Heavy snow in February. Great numbers of sheep lost.
1800	Severe snowstorms in January. Livestock losses.
1801	By August the crops around Lerwick are severely damaged by drought. Summer fishing very poor, but adequate supplies of milk, fish and meat.
	High prices for fish, butter and fish oil.
1802	A case of arson in a corn yard in Unst.
	Poor fishing and lean crops.
1803	Great scarcity of food in January. Emergency supplies sent in this month.
	Fishing the worst since 1783 in Unst and Yell.
	Grain, meal and bread imported into Shetland amounted to £30,000 sterling; more than the proceeds of all fish caught this year and almost as much as the value of all exports.
	Thomas Mouat's recorded purchases of meal higher than in any other single year.

Year	Comments
1803 ...	Poor harvest. Serious food shortages by December.
1804	Parliamentary Committee petitioned in March by the heritors. Heritors claim that destitution now worse than in 1784, since then the inhabitants had "enjoyed" several good years before the dearth.
	2 ships arrived with supplies in May, but Dunrossness Kirk Session obliged to disburse all its funds for the relief of the poor.
	180 bolls of mixed barley and oatmeal sent by the Government at the end of September for Dunrossness.
	117 bolls meal and 76 cwt of bread sent to Unst this year.
1805	No records.
1806-7	Severe winter causes heavy losses of livestock in the small isles between Unst and Fetlar.
1807	Freak snowstorm in September ruins much of the harvest.
1808	No records.
1809	No records.
1810	No records.
1811	Very bad fishing season, worst since 1803 for T.M.
1812	Grain shortage in Lerwick.
1813	April. Government spends £1,987:18:2d on grain and potatoes for the relief of distress.
1814	Bad weather delays the start of the fishing season in May.
1815	No records.
1816	March. Losses of horses and sheep in Unst.
1817	No records.
1818	No records.
1819	No records.

The sources are nearly all secondary; the records, such as they are, of the prices of cereals at Lerwick and elsewhere, have not yet been adequately studied; no doubt the Morton papers and the papers of the Dundas family would reveal more information. The prices at Gardie are mostly arbitrary conversion prices - for deficiencies of butter, oil or fish payments in kind, and the sale prices paid to Mouat by Lerwick merchants and others. They are thus not a reliable index of food shortage. Similarly, the records of Thomas Mouat's purchases of oats and (bear meal) barley are too fragmentary to be of much use. The absence of many records of cereal purchases in the Gardie papers is curious, for even

" ... in the most favourable seasons, the crop alone could not subsist the inhabitants for more than six months in the year; ... there is actually bread for only half the present number of inhabitants ... As the crops, however, have been found to fail, even more than once in every three years, it is probable that on an average it does not supply the inhabitants more than four months in each year." (Edmondston 1809, II, 144)

From the above table of observations and from the commodity graphs, and the farm-size/ley graphs and maps, we can say with some certainty that dearth was widespread in the years 1759-1762; 1766; 1770; 1772-1774; 1778; 1781-1786; 1792(?); 1801-1807; and 1811-1813. (All years inclusive) This represents 27 years out of 60 between 1759 and 1819; of these no fewer than 18 can be classified as years of really serious dearth. Only two years, 1788 and 1797 can be called "exceptionally good seasons" for both agriculture and fishing. The three other "very good" seasons all occurred between 1787 and 1798.

Five main phases can be identified;

1. The period of intermittent dearth in the late 1750's, the 1760's and early 1770's, with shortages rarely lasting more than a year or two and probably localised in extent, interspersed with generally moderate and locally good seasons. The 1770's generally seem to have been a period of poor but not necessarily disastrous harvests.

2. The "first dearth" of 1781-1786, so serious that emergency supplies were provided by the government and by public subscription in several English and Scottish towns, notably Newcastle. (No.907,911 etc)
3. The period of relative prosperity in the 1790's when despite occasional and local failures of either the fishings or the harvests, there was little general scarcity of food (in terms of the common people's diet).
4. The sudden reversal of fortunes in 1801-1802, culminating in the "second dearth" of 1803-1807. This was slightly worse than the first, being superimposed on a labour shortage, and was followed not by renewed prosperity as in the 1790's but by
5. A period of intermittent dearth in the 1810's, with a serious collapse of the fisheries in 1811, and more government relief in 1813.

The 1820's seem to have been generally less precarious, but in the 1830's and 1840's intermittent dearth returned, in parallel with events in Ireland and the Western Isles.

Shetland was never so dependent on the potato as were more westerly areas, and had a wider diversity of food sources, but the dearths were none the less desperate for that. The situation of the 1840's was exacerbated by the partial substitution of the merchants' more ruthless credit for the lairds' "support".

An indication of the alarm these dearths caused the lairds is to be found in their petition to Parliament of May 1784 (No. 867). Although they claimed in this document that the heritor's funds were exhausted, Thomas and John Mouat somehow managed to scrape together £50 to invest in "poor's meal" in 1785-1787 and made a profit. Bruce of Sumburgh also complained that Lerwick merchants, especially "the Misses Barbara and Katherine Craigie", were profiteering out of the distribution of charity meal. The ministers were not always co-operative in getting

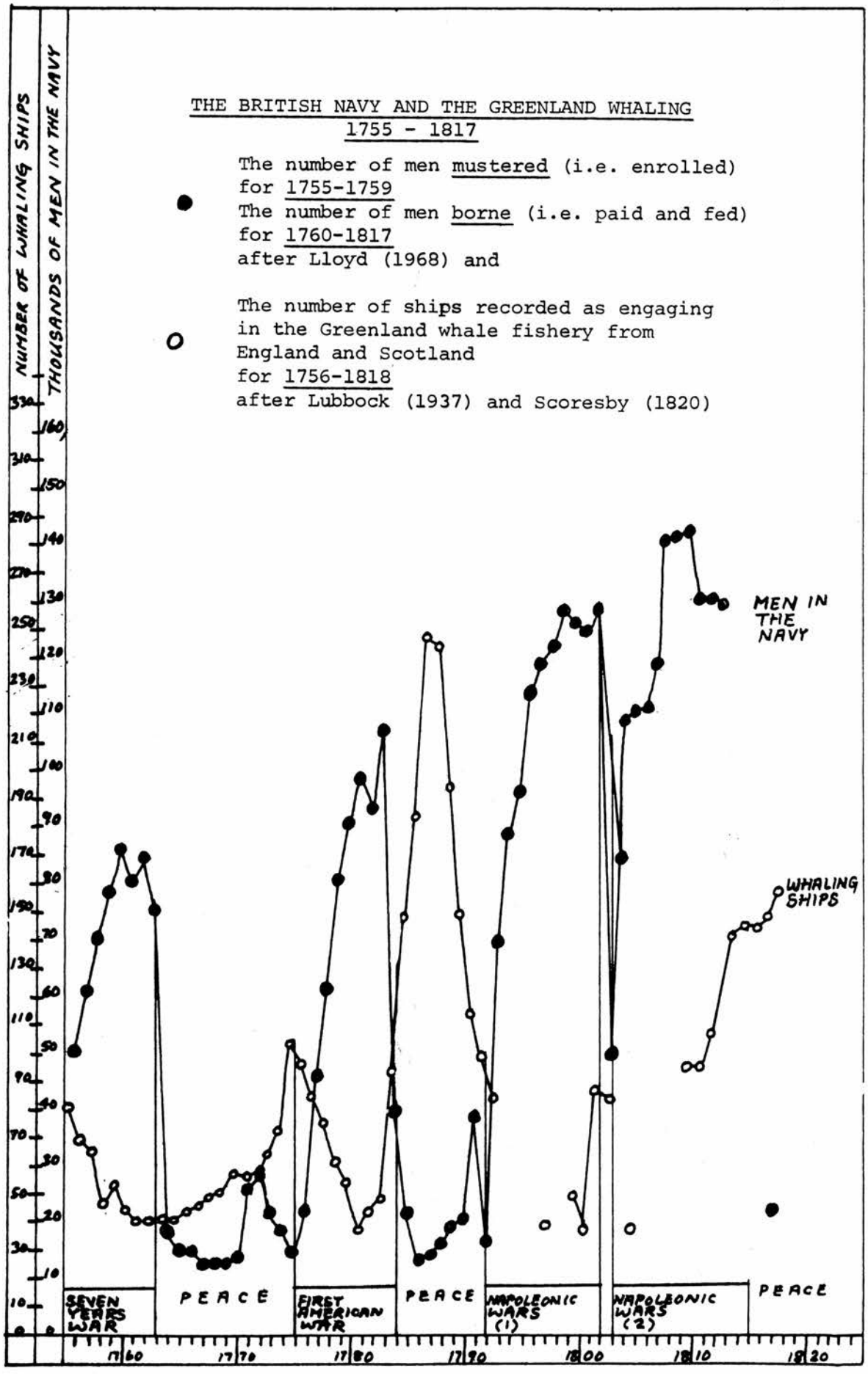
the supplies to the tenants; John Mill of Dunrossness thought it was the lairds' responsibility and complained to Sumburgh that he was too busy catechising to act as a merchant for relief supplies. He did, however, dispense a great deal of personal charity to his parishioners out of his stipend.

There is a clear correlation between dearths and the production of commodities discussed in Chapter 5. Apart from such spectacular items as the sale of "voar-dead" cattle hides (voar = spring) in 1785 it is clear that butter, fish, fish oil and even kelp production all fell in times of food scarcity; the correlations with ley land levels are equally well established, but it is noticeable that the amount of ley land tended to fall rapidly when the worst of the dearth was over. The situation in 1801-1807 was complicated by a shortage of labour. We must now examine three crucial factors in this context; emigration, seasonal recruitment by Greenland whaling ships and of course the Navy.

Chapter 6:9. Emigration and Immigration

There is no record after 1774 of any mass movement towards emigration within the period of this study, nor of any substantial immigration from Scotland. There was a constant trickle, sometimes a small stream, of emigration by young men (whether by design or by default) but most of them left Shetland initially on whalers or on Naval vessels. With the decline of the Hamburg trade there were fewer opportunities for travel to the continent, and the "fever" of emigration to America and other colonies did not really reach Shetland until later in the nineteenth century. To that period also belongs the immigration, mostly to Lerwick, Bressay, Burra Isle, Whalsay and Baltasound, of people from Scotland who came to work in the enlarged cod fisheries and the "herring boom" at the end of the nineteenth century. For the period 1777-1819 immigration may be discounted as a significant source of population increase.

graph 61


THE BRITISH NAVY AND THE GREENLAND WHALING
1755 - 1817
The number of men mustered (i.e. enrolled) for 1755-1759
The number of men borne (i.e. paid and fed) for 1760-1817
after Lloyd (1968) and
The number of ships recorded as engaging in the Greenland whale fishery from England and Scotland for 1756-1818
after Lubbock (1937) and Scoresby (1820)
NUMBER OF WHALING SHIPS
THOUSANDS OF MEN IN THE NAVY
MEN IN THE NAVY
WHALING SHIPS
SEVEN YEARS WAR
PEACE
FIRST AMERICAN WAR
PEACE
NAPOLEONIC WARS (1)
NAPOLEONIC WARS (2)
PEACE
1760
1770
1780
1790
1800
1810
1820

Chapter 6:10. "That Vile Trade" - the Greenland Whaling

Shetlanders had been enlisting with the Greenland whalers on an occasional basis for as long as the ships had been calling at the islands for supplies and crew en route for the Arctic. Dutch whalers called at Shetland in the seventeenth century, but the recruitment of seamen on a large scale seems to have first occurred in the mid-eighteenth century. Scoresby[6] considered that in the first half of the eighteenth century there was very little activity in whaling. (1820, II, 108). In some years the ships were welcomed by the lairds, as in 1761 when they relieved "distress" with work and cash for the menfolk but usually they opposed recruitment as forcibly as they could, the more so when it came to be organised by lesser lairds and Lerwick merchants acting as agents for the whaling captains.

Until 1779 the whalers were not legally supposed to take on crews in Shetland, but in that year the restriction was temporarily lifted. The 1760's had not been particularly prosperous for the English and Scots whaling fleets, which rarely numbered more than 80 or 90, and usually less than 50, vessels between 1755 and 1775 (Scoresby[6], 1820 and Lubbock, 1937). The trade was disrupted by privateers in the American War of Independence, but the number of ships greatly increased during the peacetime years of 1784-1793, reaching a record 250 in 1787. (Ibid.)

The most vocal opposition from the lairds occurred in 1793, the last year of the peacetime whaling boom, when Thomas Mouat drafted a petition to the House of Commons. The usual number of men who went each year from Unst to the Greenland ships was "five to ten" (Mss. OSA. Unst. f.22) but in 1793 no fewer than 27 men enrolled, encouraged by

by the Ross family of Unst, envious neighbours of Thomas Mouat.

The petition gave an illuminating "laird's eye view" of the issue;

"The Greenland Whale fishing is carried on by ships ... which in order to obtain the bounties given by Government are obliged to have a certain number of men in proportion to the number of boats each ship carries, and a muster of their crews is made at the respective port from which they are fitted out, by which they appear to have the number of men regulated by law. The truth, however, is that many of those ships are deficient at the time of their leaving the ports of England or Continent of Scotland, which deficiency the commanders cloak by making false musters of crews by borrowing men, and trust to compleat their crews by engaging people in Shetland at easier rates, where no muster is made and thus they often obtain bounties by practising a fraud on the mustering officers, and contrary to the spirit and intent of the law.

"Those ships arrive in Bressay Sound and in Baltasound in Unst, about the middle of March, and seduce and carry off servants from their masters, children from their parents and even tenants from their possessions without any regular intimation being given, and tend a deaf ear to the remonstrances of landlords, masters of families and parents, who object to such unwarrantable proceedings."

The whaling captain William Scoresby gave a rather different version;

"In time of war, the manning of the whale ships at the ports where they were respectively fitted out, being sometimes impracticable, and always a matter of difficulty, it was usual for the owners and masters of such ships to avail themselves of the privilege allowed by act of Parliament, of completing their crews in Shetland or Orkney. These islands were therefore the frequent resort of most of the fishermen. Those bound for Spitzbergen commonly put into Shetland, and those for Davis Straits into Orkney. But, in the present time of peace also [i.e. 1815-20] several ships, in consequence of the higher wages demanded by the English seamen, have availed themselves of a late extension of the act, for permitting a certain amount of extra men to be taken on board in Shetland, or Orkney, during the continuance of the bounty system ... Since these islanders had formerly furthered the interests of the fishers, and enabled them to send more ships than could otherwise have been manned, it was only reasonable that no obstruction at least, should be offered to prevent the fishers from repaying them for the accommodation they afforded in time of war, by continuing to employ them after the establishment of peace."
(Scoresby, 1820, II,109)

With the outbreak of hostilities in 1793 the whaling receded in the face of renewed threats not only from French privateers but also from the Impress tenders which habitually cruised off the coasts of Shetland. By 1798 the whalers were going to Shetland in convoy, but

there were only about 40 of them. (Lubbock, 1937). There was a brief revival in 1802-1803 during the short-lived peace, and then they were once more harassed by the "Dunkirkers" and the Navy Impress. Despite this, men continued to enlist throughout the Wars; Patrick Neil noted in 1805 that the lairds had raised the per capita fine for going to the whaling from one guinea to three - an imposition that aroused great indignation among the lairds' critics. (Neil, 1806,111)

After 1805 the whaling improved considerably despite temporary interruptions in the second American war, and had several very good seasons. The ten years following 1816 were the most prosperous in the whole history of the Arctic whaling, and the number of men involved probably increased throughout the early nineteenth century.

The whaling posed legal and practical problems for the lairds; legally they had no right to impose a "fine", just as they had no right to impound the whales caught by the tenants on their own shores (see Chapter 4 above). The practical problem, about which they worried a good deal more, was the seasonal effect of recruitment on their own labour supply. As Thomas Mouat explained in his 1793 petition;

"This evil is the more clamant in that those young men who are thus seduced having remained as burdens on their masters or parents during the preceeding winter (in which nothing they can be employed in can compensate the expense of their maintenance) desert, at the very time when there is most occasion for their services in labouring the ground, the season for which just commences about the time those Greenland ships arrive; thus their masters and parents are left destitute of assistance between the legal terms of Martinmas and Whitsunday, in the currency of the half-year when it is not lawful for any servant to remove, or be removed - and the fishing, in summer the principal object in this country, is consequently sacrificed. Were these young men to return, the misfortune would be tolerable, but they or some of them return in autumn when there is little use for them at home, after having imbibed the vices and dissipation of their late comrades, who are in general the lowest class of tars, and often without a penny in their pockets. Instead of being useful members of the community, they sow discontent and set examples of idleness and dissipation among the natives and tempt their acquaintances to embark in the same line of life. They solicit their parents for shelter during the winter or engage with householders for a year or half-year from

Martinmas, and in general run away again with those Greenland ships, breaking their engagements, after having in the idle season of the year wasted the crops of their too indulgent parents or credulous masters without making any recompense and often in debt are discharged."

The effect of this on local food supply is evident, but it seems unlikely that these purely seasonal absences had much effect on population totals or birth rates; more than one contemporary writer referred to the fact that the Shetlanders liked to spend the winter in "mirth and carousing" (as at present!). Yet even in peacetime (i.e. from 1784-1793) when the Press Gang were not so active, Thomas Mouat wrote that most of the "Greenlanders ... ultimately come into the Navy." In 1793 only 10 of the 27 Unst men returned that year; 7 were impressed, 9 were "fate unknown" and one died on the voyage.

Chapter 6:11. "The Volunteers" - Naval Recruitment and the Press Gang

The whaling was all the more intolerable because the lairds thought they could do something about it, whereas it was obvious from the start that there was no point in resisting the Navy's demands for men. In previous Wars it had not been necessary to send the Press Gang to Shetland. For example, in the Seven Years War of 1756-1763 Unst had provided ten "volunteer seamen" (Mss. OSA. Unst. F.22); i.e. the lairds did the recruiting. But the demands of the Impress Service in 1777 were unprecedented.

In March 1777 a rumour swept Shetland that the Press Gang were to take all able-bodied men for the Navy; there was a rush to join the Greenland ships and the fishermen who remained refused to put to sea unless assured that the rumour was false. (No. 686) John Bruce Stewart of Symbister, Sir John Mitchell of Westshore and Gideon Gifford of Busta, supported by the other lairds, wrote urgently to Captain Napier, the superintendent of the Impress in north east Scotland, craving that the Impress be delayed until the return of the whalers in August, when they would "raise" 100 men themselves to save the Government the expense, and asked for written assurances that their men would not be molested while at the fishing.

Napier, under pressure to round up as many as he could, grudgingly agreed to take only 100, but demanded fishermen, not farmers, fondly imagining that such a distinction existed in Shetland; he stipulated that 50 should be delivered to the tenders immediately and the rest in August. The request for protection for the fishermen was given but when his superiors heard of it the promise was broken. (No.693)

William Mouat was furious, not because of a desire to protect his tenants from the rigours of a naval career, but because the

threatened levy would "ruin us". (Ibid). In an incoherent note scribbled on the back of a copy of Napier's letter he fumed that the levy amounted to a fifth man of all those aged between 20 and 50 engaged in the fishing. Bruce Stewart's arithmetic was rather different - in a covering letter he told Mouat that it would be only a tenth. Mouat retorted with justification that this was a higher proportion than demanded from any other maritime county. Robert Hunter made no attempt to oppose the levy, though in a letter to Mouat (No. 691) he asked him to keep Napier's letter a secret for fear of alarming the fishermen further. (No. 691) "The Peninsuleans" he wrote merrily (referring to his family at Lunna) "have not forgotten the Belmonteans, but they have of late been taken up with more momentous considerations; the manning of the British Navy." Hunter had only one man to supply, the hapless M. Corrigie, whom he described flippantly as "a passing Admiral". And so to business, and the financial plans for settling Thomas Mouat in control of Hunter's and Gardie's lands in Unst.

Despite some trouble in rounding up the victims elsewhere in Shetland, the quota was eventually supplied, although the tenders found it necessary to make up the numbers with the occasional raid on a fishing boat. The following year the Rev. George Traill, in London to act for the lairds in their process against Dundas, wrote optimistically to Sir John Mitchell asking whether, since he had been so successful he would mind supplying a further 30 or 40 seamen for his (privateering) friend Captain Duncan. In 1779, when it was clear that the war was going to be longer than anticipated, the lairds partially stopped the drain on their labour force by issuing an order as Commissioners of Supply to the Sheriff's Officers to "search for and apprehend all able-

bodied men within your bounds, who are idlers or disorderly persons, and who have no visible employment or occupation for their subsistence ... " and to enlist them for the Navy. A reward of 20/- was offered to the officers for each man they enlisted, and as an act of generosity the recruits themselves were promised a bounty of 3 guineas, with discharge "on request" after 3 years should the country no longer be at war.

It is true that William Mouat did once enquire about reports that three men he had sent to Lerwick for enlistment had been ill-treated and thrown into the local jail to await the arrival of the tender. (No. 779) Sheriff substitute Walter Scott of Scottshall assured him that the reports were quite unfounded. (These "volunteers", along with many others, had never previously been to Lerwick let alone out of Shetland.)

As with the whaling, we have no precise record of the numbers enlisted in Shetland. The problem is currently being studied by Mr. John Robertson of Kirkwall, but although there are fairly exact records of the number of men "borne" and "mustered" nationally for each year (Lloyd, 1968; ~~see table below~~), no comparable data has yet been unearthed for the northern isles. We can only assume that the numbers of Shetlanders serving fluctuated roughly in proportion to the total number of men in the Navy in any one year. (See Graph 61 of Lloyd's figures).

In 1800 the same Walter Scott of Scottshall, who was also regulating captain of the Impress at Lerwick, reported to Dr. Kemp that "since the commencement of the present hostilities [since 1793] not less than a thousand sailors from this country have enlisted on board of ships of war, and ... hundreds more are employed in the

Greenland whale-fishery." (Kemp, 1801, 26).

In 1814 Shirreff recorded that in 1808 there had been "not fewer than 2,000 natives of Zetland serving in his Majesty's Navy all last war 1793-1802 and this war, beside those employed in private ships ... " (Shirreff, 1814, 25, Appendices)

As usual, Edmondston was the most precise reporter;

> "During the last and former wars, great numbers entered voluntarily into the Navy, for which they early evinced a strong partiality, but since a rigorous impress has been established at Lerwick, they have lost their ardour for the service, and subject themselves to the most distressing privations to avoid the chance of being forced into it. Between 1793 and 1801 the late Mr. Walter Scott, regulating officer, enlisted eleven hundred men for the navy; and the whole population of Shetland did not much exceed twenty-two thousand souls. Upwards of three thousand natives of this country are at present [1809] in the navy, a proportion exceeding that of the most populous maritime county in Britain. About six hundred men go annually to Greenland; and as those who engage for this voyage are conceived to be complete seamen, they are looked upon as fair game by the impress officers, and are hunted down with remorseless perseverance." (II, 67-68) (my emphasis)

From such observations we must draw the remarkable conclusion that between 1793 and 1815 something like one half to one third of the adult male population had served at one time or another in the navy, and that between 1803 and 1808 possibly a third were at sea in any one year; William Mouat's most gloomy predictions of 1777 had been exceeded.

If absolute figures are not obtainable, there are some indications of the periods of most intense press-gang activity. After 1777 and the renewed impress of 1780, there was a lull until 1790-91, when war scares again sent the tenders north. Throughout the 1793-1801 period impressment was maintained at a moderate level,* but the greatest activity came after the temporary peace of 1802 when, as Lloyd's figures show, the number of men mustered had been reduced in

* e.g. at least 33 men left Lerwick in one tender alone in January 1795 (GRAEME, 1915, 22)

anticipation of a lasting peace. Most of the excesses committed by the Press Gangs occurred in the period 1803-1812; in 1808 they even took boys from the Bressay school, and the following year they cast adrift a young boy from Bressay (p.c. J.J. Graham) in an open boat in the tiderace to the south of the island, as a punishment for resisting impressment. John Mouat and his son fought this and several other cases on behalf of Bressay tenants wrongfully impressed, (see William Mouat's letter book, 20.10.1809; 14.10.1812) but there is no record of any such action by Thomas Mouat in Unst. In any case Bressay was always more subject to impressment than other islands because of its strategic position.

Arthur Edmondston was also highly critical of the methods used for recruitment in 1803-1808;

"The mode of procuring volunteers is rather extraordinary. Immediately after a man has been impressed, he is either sent on board of a ship, or shut up in the rendezvous, and promises, threats, and privations of every kind, practised to induce him to enter. He resists for a time from a conviction that he is not a seaman, but seeing his vexations daily increase, and no prospect of a termination to them, he reluctantly consents that his name shall be enrolled among the number of <u>volunteers</u> for the navy.

"As every tenant is a fisher, and some of them perhaps at a former, though distant period, have made a voyage to Greenland, or gone to Leith in a trading sloop, the whole male population of Zetland may, abstractedly, be deemed seamen. But although these circumstances, in the eye of reason and experience, can never constitute a man a seaman, nor render him liable to be impressed, yet they are often considered sufficient qualifications in the eye of the regulating officer. To swel. his list of "volunteers" and to appear to have been active in his situation, are the grand points which he has in view; and to extenuate any acts of harshness or severity of which he may have been guilty, he pleads the imperious nature of his duty.

"Of those who go to Greenland annually, many are tenants who have no other means of paying the high rent for their farms. Such is the state of most of the farmers in Tingwall and Whiteness. The others are unmarried men, the sons of regular tenants, who surely have as fair a claim to personal freedom as any citizens of the British empire. It is peculiarly hard that in consequence of having selected

the line of life on which the political superiority of their country depends, they should be subjected to unremitting persecution, both by the landholders and the impress officers.

"I am not possessed of that morbid sensibility that would deny the indispensable necessity of impressing men in a country purely maritime, but let "mercy season justice". Some individuals are dissipated and idle, and live but for themselves; others are the fathers of helpless families, and the only support of declining age; but when all are discriminately hurried on board of a tender, carried to the Nore, and dispersed over the fleet, the claims of justice arrive too late for their restoration to their beggared wives and children."

(1809, II, 70)

Chapter 6:12. Labour Supply

In 1814 Shirreff reported that

"A day's labour, which in 1797 was only valued at 6d, has been recently doubled, and in some instances trebled, which, all other things* being considered, renders labour as valuable in Shetland, when employment can be obtained, as in many parts of Scotland."** (op.cit.(68))

Conditions of labour supply varied seasonally and regionally within Shetland. For example, in the bountiful year of 1788 the young labourers brought from Lerwick to repair the kirk of Unst, demanded and got payment in cash, an unheard-of request. (No. 1,042). The superintendent complained of "these refractory and inconsiderate heritors" who would not pay their share of the expense and who imagined "that the workmen from Lerwick and other parts of the country will accept of such payment [i.e. in kind] as the people residing in the place", and he stressed that "nothing but prompt payment" would do for these workmen. As late as 1815 Thomas Mouat complained to his brother in Lerwick that "You can purchase labour for money, here [in Unst] we cannot." (No.2,225); i.e. he could not procure labour in Unst for the same conditions offered to Lerwick men 27 years previously.

The markedly seasonal division of labour meant that even in the 1790's very few men servants or farmworkers could be hired for more than 9 months of the year. Thomas Mouat claimed that in the whole of Unst there were only 2 "day-labourers" in 1791. (OSA, V, 193). Despite the hardships of the fishing a man could expect to make as much there in 2 or 3 months as he could in 9 months working on the laird's home farm (OSA), even though these 9 months pay included free board and

* e.g. inflation and the halving of the available male labour force.

** This was not the case in the 1790's when, as Morgan (1971) has pointed out, wage rates in Shetland were probably only half the average for other areas of rural Scotland.

a pair of shoes (a common feature of contracts throughout Shetland). Skilled labour was somewhat more regular in supply, although invariably higher-priced.

"Few of the inhabitants are regularly bred to any handycraft trade" wrote Mouat, "and yet there are a number of self-taught builders, slaters, wrights, carpenters, tanners, shoemakers, weavers and taylors, whose proficiency is wonderful considering their opportunity of improvement." Sir John Sinclair's secretaries edited out his additional comment; " ... yet as they work slowly and by days' wages their work generally comes to be high enough." (OSA)

His report was corroborated by most of the ministers, and it is clear that many of these tradesmen were semi-itinerant, for "In these [wage] rates maintenance is valued and included, commonly provided by the employer." (Mss, OSA, Unst, F.10). Only shoemakers and dyke-builders were paid on piecework rates in the early 1790's. Thomas Leisk's comments to William Mouat in 1811 (No. 1,962) suggested that the price of a mason's labour had remained static at 1/- per day since 1791;* yet Shirreff's report indicated that average rates for masons had risen to 1/3d or 1/6d by 1808 when he made his first visit to Shetland. It was then still the case that "farm servants and most workmen must be maintained in the family where they work," (69) and it appears from his figures and from Edmondston's that the price of labour had kept pace with or slightly advanced upon the money inflation of 15-20% during the wars.

At present not enough data has been studied to trace the annual fluctuations in wage rates and labour supply, except for periods like the 1790's, for which Morgan (1971) has made calculations based on the sketchy returns of the OSA, but four broad generalisations may be made.

* Leisk was notoriously mean.
cf. his treatment of the Uyea whale-salvers.

1. In Lerwick and in other small places where work was plentiful, e.g. Scalloway, Uyeasound and other "creeks", labour was relatively more expensive than in the rural districts, and more likely to be paid for in cash than in kind.
2. There was always a surplus of manual and to some extent skilled labour in the winter, and a shortage in the summer months.
3. Labour was at its scarcest and most expensive (relative to the work available) in the good years of the 1790's, ~~and~~ yet labour shortage was an aggravating contributory factor in the dearth of 1801-1807.
4. The number of landless "common labourers" increased after the end of the Napoleonic Wars. This was perhaps the most fundamental change in the social structure of Shetland since the eclipse of the udallers by the Norse and Scots lairds in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Chapter Seven

Conclusions

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Conclusions

There are doctoral theses that proceed neatly from a single problem to a single conclusion. This work is not in that category. At a glance the reader will see that it is discursive and deals with many disparate topics; the purpose of this last chapter is to show how this diverse treatment of numerous themes can be related to the one central problem - "How did the people living in Shetland two hundred years ago solve their main problem of existence in the environment of Shetland?"

This may not be such an arcane, antiquarian matter as one might think; in the intervening two centuries Shetland has become ever more closely involved with the economies of the outside world. Forty years ago the late Professor A.C.O'Dell showed that Shetland had been "urbanised" in terms of the provision of many goods and services, at an earlier date than its "remote" geography would lead us to expect. Now, with the rush to exploit the islands' offshore oil, Shetland has become a major prop of the environmentally destructive economy of Britain and Euro-America. This latest evidence of "progress" and "development" conceals the uncomfortable reality that in a very short space of time, probably before the end of this century, we will once again be faced with the fundamental problem of how to survive in a "de-industrialised" society using only renewable terrestrial and solar resources; the same problem, in fact, that faced the author's forebears who as tenants of the lairds worked the lands and fished the seas of Cunningsburgh, Bixter and Samphrey Isle in the late eighteenth century. A study of the imperfections in their systems of land tenure, social organisation and resource management may be of real significance.

It is sometimes argued that the only honest way to present a thesis is to write a diary - showing the way in which the author's ideas, techniques and aims were altered as he worked his way through his sources towards his conclusions - rather than to pretend that the work was from the start a grand conception needing only the text between the chapter headings to complete it. This is an attractive argument, though like most candidates I have not ventured to carry it out in practice. Nonetheless, it is useful to know how the ideas and problems that motivated this work have

evolved, if the reader is to appreciate the relevance and the limitations of the conclusions that follow. In the course of my undergraduate work I became fascinated by the problem of land tenure, and moreparticularly by the physical manifestations of land tenure in the landscape - the network of walls, ditches, homesteads, tracks and rigs that cover the man-made landscape of Shetland. I had already discovered that much of the nineteenth century surface archaeology, for example in Bressay, could be interpreted with the help of folklore and the memories of the older generation. The stimulation to examine the handwritten and hand-drawn evidence for the eighteenth century and earlier landscapes came not from my browsings in libraries and muniment rooms (that came later) but from long and pleasurable evenings in the company of the many good people of Bressay who patiently told me all they could remember of the placenames, "yarns" and family histories; these were the people who helped me fill in the lamentable gaps on the Ordnance Survey with the accumulated knowledge of their parents and grandparents.

The problem that emerged from these discussions was this; when, how, by whom and why were the earlier fields, enclosures, hill-dykes and houses constructed? Various other problems concerned with the finer details of this landscape were also in my mind at this time - such as the origins and evolution of house-types and water mills.

When the opportunity arose of working on an almost unresearched manuscript collection, my intention was to select from the Gardie Papers the data that I believed to be there relating to these purely "geographical" problems. Preliminary sampling in 1968 of the nineteenth century material suggested that there would be a wealth of detail about enclosures from the hill, building of houses, etc. It also seemed that there would be a good deal of information on Bressay, an island I already knew well.

In the event it turned out that most of the eighteenth century and earlier manuscripts dealt with Unst (for reasons explained in Chapter 1); furthermore, there was surprisingly little information abo the evolution of field systems, enclosures or watermills (the last-mentioned being one of my favourite antiquarian hobbies).

This unexpected situation only became clear to me after I had completed the cataloguing of the manuscripts to 1824, which together with background reading of the extensive published literature, occupied most of my first year's work. The realisation of the diversity of the manuscript material forced me to broaden the original concept of a study of the purely physical elements in the eighteenth century landscape. At the same time I had deliberately to restrict the scope of the study because time and money were short. I could have concentrated on one topic, culling material from Gardie and elsewhere; Dr H.D.Smith of Scalloway has done this in his extremely thorough study of the trade of Shetland (Aberdeen University Ph.D.,1972). Another Shetlander, Mr Brian Smith (no relation), is currently working on an ambitious history of all the Shetland landed estates - an option that was also open to me but which I rejected after some unsuccessful attempts to build a framework large enough to organise the data yet simple enough to explain it.

A third option was to write a complete history of the Gardie/ Garth estates from 1570 to the present day - using all the data available in the manuscripts. A glance at the rows of day-books and ledgers on the Gardie House shelves, and the enormous volume of mid- and late-nineteenth century correspondence convinced me that this was a life's work, not three years'.

The final form of the thesis was not established until more than two years after work started. At first I wrote a straightforward and very detailed chronology of the events recorded in the correspondence. Then I reorganised this on specific themes and introduced comparative data from other sources. At this point the narrative was laid aside and almost eighteen months were spent transcribing and analysing data from the numerical sources at gardie and elsewhere. Not until this work was assembled in preliminary graph and map form did I return to the task of "cobbling-up", a process familiar to most candidates. At last the arrangement into two distinct parts - historical and thematic - was arrived at, more by trial, error and compromise than by dynamic planning.

It is now possible, despite the tortuous paths I have followed, to say what I think happened in Shetland two and three hundred years ago. What follows is a summary of the preceding chapters' conclusions and as we shall see, a mere precis is not sufficient - it may tell us when and how things happened but probably not why. We shall come to that later.

The essential point to remember about Shetland is that from very early times it has been dependent to a greater or lesser extent on external trade and thus had surprisingly wide contacts with the outside world. For two hundred years after Shetland formally became part of Scotland its economy was both sustained and exploited by the German connexion.

From the 1690's and probably earlier these German merchants had been losing interest in the Shetland trade - as early as 1685 the Scots lairds were taking care not to offend them and to encourage their annual visits. Although the British Salt Tax legislation of 1712 may have been the last straw there is clear evidence that the trade had never really recovered from the disruption of the "seven ill years" at the close of the seventeenth century. Most of the German merchants eventually ceased to visit Shetland in person but they continued for several decades to handle a good deal of its fish trade, with the lairds acting in concert with them as agents and partners - besides making exploratory forays into the markets on their own account. In their own interests no doubt the lairds did feel themselves "obliged" to "turn merchant", and indeed they seem to have discouraged the attempts by Scots merchants to replace the Germans (which was the intended consequence of part of the1712 legislation.) In other words they knew a good thing when they saw it; they were clearly aware of the advantage to them in strengthening their economic monopoly over their tenants and the surviving udallers. Their retrospective claims about their supposed altruism must be seen as two parts truth and eight parts humbug.

In the unsettled forty years after the Germans "left", several merchants in Shetland (such as Robert Mouat and his son William) made themselves into landowners of consequence by the large scale purchase of scattered parcels of land belonging to the surviving udaller owner-occupiers. The period 1712 - 1760 may be regarded as the final phase of the udaller class as a distinct social unit;

the remainder were largely "mopped up" in the later eighteenth century under pressure of debts to the landowner-merchants and through a certain amount of illegal occupation of their lands by the tenants of the lairds. Although the number of tenants increased relative to owner-occupiers, and the lairds became fewer and more powerful, it seems that paradoxically most tenants on the Mouat and Henderson estates enjoyed a greater measure of independence than was to be the case later in the century. This was partly because of a shortage of tenants following disastrous smallpox epidemics and dearths in the first half of the eighteenth century and also because of the relatively low level of fishing activity before about 1760.

The late 1750's and early 1760's may now be seen as the real "great plane of cleavage", to use O'Dell's famous geological metaphor. Four new factors emerged in this period:

1; The entry into the Shetland market of English and Scots merchants who thenceforth acted as middlemen between the merchant-lairds, the local landless merchants and the markets for Shetland fish.

2; A rapid decline in the proportion of fish exported to, and other goods imported from, the German markets. This was hastened by the disruption of trade with the Continent during the Seven Years' War of 1756-1763.

3; A significant increase in fishing activity by Shetlanders using new gear, larger boats, more distant and more prolific fishing grounds, and more reliable markets. At the same time fish contributed an increased proportion of the landlords' incomes.

4; An unprecedented rate of population growth, associated with the introduction of smallpox innoculation and increased economic exploitation of the island environment.

The probable consequence of these changes were as follows:

1; Greater control by the lairds over the lives of their tenants; manifested in the formalising and extension of "fishing tenure" and facilitated by the tenants' accumulated debts, which in turn were a result of distorted weights and measures, dishonest accounting and the increased imports of consumer goods.

2; A deliberate policy of subdivision of farms and encouragement of early marriages. This was inevitably accompanied by further impoverishment of the tenants in general and to some extent enabled the lairds, either by design or default, to keep their tenants in debt.

3; The further extension and consolidation of the estates of the more prosperous lairds and the consequent ruin of many lesser lairds and udallers.

These trends and continued population growth were to continue during most of the nineteenth century, but several developments contributed to a major hiatus in the process during the period 1785 - 1812, particularly in 1800 - 1812:

1; Naval recruitment for the American War of Independence, followed by a serious dearth in Shetland in 1781-1786, resulted in a temporary halt to subdivision of farms and an increase in the amount of untenanted land in Unst.

2; Despite more favourable environmental and economic conditions in the 1790's the policy of subdivision was no longer feasible on Mouat's estates - partly because of labour shortage created by seasonal recruiting for the Greenland whale fisheries. Nonetheless, the productivity of Mouat's Unst lands reached its eighteenth-century peak in this decade, for all commodities, even after the depredations of wartime inflation.

3; From 1793 onwards Naval recruitment had drastic effects on the estate's labour supply; inspite of this (or perhaps because of it), during the period 1789 - 1802 Thomas Mouat became firmly established as the major landlord in Unst and Bressay, and as a powerful figure throughout Shetland. He embarked upon a policy of reorganising the chaotic pattern of land use within the Unst townships, a pattern that had evolved from the original Norse farmsteads through complicated processes of inheritance, subdivision and bad husbandry. He also experimented unsuccessfully with sheep-farming and other "agricultural improvements".

4; The trauma of the 1801 - 1806 dearth, superimposed upon the wartime labour shortage, effectively stopped subdivision of tenancies in Unst. Population growth slowed markedly and at times up to a third of the adult male population were absent at sea. This dislocation probably made it easier for Thomas Mouat to enforce surveyors' divisions of township lands, to tighten up on the conditions

of new leases, and to begin the process of amalgamating tenancies for a minority of more prosperous small farmers. Despite this a sixth of his lands were not in normal tenure at the height of the dearth, and most of these were probably untenanted.

Subdivision of farms revived after 1812 - 1815 to accomodate returning seamen and renewed population growth; but numbers of the wartime amalgamations survived, leaving many tenants more impoverished, more dependent on new and poor outset farms in the hill commons, and more thirled to the fishings than before. The increasing influence of the merchants of Lerwick exacerbated the position of the tenants and landless cottars by undermining the rudimentary social security system that the lairds had operated in return for the tenants' services. The system of clandestine sales of fish - "yauging" - which had previously mitigated some of the harsher effects of the "Zetland method", probably declined as the big merchants' hold increased.

Although Thomas Mouat's estate was relatively less profitable in these recurrent times of dearth and war, he survived by expanding and diversifying his sources of income. He and his fellow-lairds clearly recognised them dangers to their livelihood that arose from continued fragmentation of tenancies and impoverishment of the tenantry; after the Wars they probably resisted subdivision as ardently as their fathers had encouraged it in the 1760's and 1770's. The continued subdivision of farms and encroachment on the commons in the first half of the nineteenth century probably happened in spite of the lairds' directions rather than because of them. This radical reversal of policy was partly influenced by the perennial criticisms of the "Zetland method" from ministers and others, but also by the spread (belatedly) of "improving" ideas and the wish to augment their own incomes. On the one hand they wished to create a small class of financially independent tenants "in easy circumstances"; on the other, they wished to "industrialise" the increasingly landless workforce engaged in fishing, hosiery and other "manufactories", thus denying them their common land rights and the farms of their forefathers. By the 1820's William MOuat had created the "Scotch" farm of Maryfield out of the ruins of a crofting township in Bressay. Following the "planking" of the townships this was among the first of many such farms that were to revolutionise the agricultural landscape of Shetland and provide a comfortable

living for several more generations of increasingly cosmopolitan landowners.

To understand the real relevance of the many phenomena discussed above we must return to the problem that faces all societies - how do we make a living? It might seem simple enough to make a living in Shetland. There is plenty of fish (or was until industrial fishing arrived); the land is moderately fertile and there is enough of it to support ten or fifteen thousand people at reasonable subsistence - even today - if they are willing to eat a home-grown diet; there is a perpetual grain shortage, but what of it? The Norse settlers in Greenland got by for almost five hundred years with little bread of any kind. In an age with no road transport the internal water communications of Shetland were superior to those of many landbound areas of similar size, for example in the interior of Wester Ross or in central Wales. Fuel, apart from localised shortages where peat had been worked out or had never formed, was plentiful. The climate, though somewhat boisterous in midwinter and at the equinoxes, is remarkably equable and permits rapid growth of grass, potatoes and green vegetables while rarely necessitating the in-wintering of cattle for more than three or four months of the year. There are even small-scale water-power sites in profusion. If the worst comes to the worst there are always inexhaustible supplies (or so it must have seemed in the innocent age of 1775) of rabbits, wildfowl and eggs.

A bountiful country, as northerly archipelagoes go. The archaeological evidence is that the islands were peopled over 3,000 years ago by Shetlanders who relied on hunting, fishing, and gathering, though they probably had not thought of burning peat. Almost certainly the non-human wild species of Shetland thrive then in extraordinary abundance and variety. Either through climatic change, or the depredations of man on these stocks, or even mere whim, fancy and fashionable "improving" ideas, it became necessary to keep domesticated animals, and cultivate the ground. Did this occur because of ideas about "progress" and "modernisation", or because of necessity born of scarcity? After all, farming and husbandry are probably harder work than hunting abundant stocks.

Although fields have been cultivated and animals domesticated in Shetland for over 3,000 years (Wainwright,1964), hunting and gathering (above all, fishing) have remained important in the local economy almost until the present. A similar situation was found in Faroe, the Western Isles, Lofoten, Iceland and Greenland where as in Shetland the produce of the "wilds" often made the difference between plenty and dearth, even when crops did not fail and animals survived the winter. Many of the artefacts associated with fishing and trapping retained the materials and designs of the Bronze Age well into the nineteenth century, showing a continuity of material culture that survived repeated changes in social structure. This is also seen in the designs of implements used in tillage, harvesting, milling and in the making of clothing, footwear and shelter.

The Picts, the Norse settlers,and the Norse-Scots of the eighteenth century, all made a living of sorts out of the renewable resources of the islands, although cereals were often imported from Orkney and elsewhere. Yet there was probably always trade - originally in items of great value such as iron, steel, copper, precious metals and coin, timber and boards, apart from the later imports of "superfluities" such as tea, snuff, tobacco, spirits, beers and the "fineries of dress" that so agitated the ministers of the 1790's. If no trading ships put in for a year or two, the main sufferers would have been the merchants, tax-gatherers and lairds. The rest could get by for a while; if the worst came to the worst there were deposits of bog-iron and other metals. The diversity ofplant and animal species, plus driftwood, made it possibly to make do and mend. Had trade dried up altogether then no doubt some would have gone under, as did many of the Norse Greenlanders of the Eastern Settlement, but life of a sort would have continued, although complicated by the necessity to use laborious technological processes to substitute for imports.

By the mid -nineteenth century Shetland cut off from its trading links would have become almost depopulated. It was totally dependent upon an economy that had to produce surpluses of fish, mutton, wool and a few manufactures in order to buy cereals to feed an inflated population. Accordingly the Shetlanders of 1850 were more completely in the hands of those who profit by trade than were the less numerous ~~xxiaadxrx~~ and more self-sufficient islanders of 1750 - in the late eighteenth century it was exceptional for large quantities of grain to be imported; by 1850 it was normal.

We are brought up to believe that trade is of itself "a good thing". Some of us are now wondering if it really is a good thing to build and operate ships to export Minis to Japan and bring back Toyotas, just one of the more absurd manifestations of expanded world trade. Perhaps some eighteenth century Shetlanders occasionally wondered why it should be necessary for them to work so hard catching more fish than they could ever eat, just so that the merchant-laird could export them and import spirits, expensive clothes and trinkets that did no one but him any financial good. Like the inhabitants of many "Third World" countries today, they may have wondered whether this obsession with trade for its own ~~sake~~ sake was not in fact making ~~their~~ their own economy more specialised and less self-reliant.

Since at least the seventeenth century Shetland has been moving at an accelerating pace into an economic system that places value on centralised, specialised production, on maximising distribution almost irrespective of transport costs; the exact opposite of the decentralised, self-supporting economy to which some Third World countries are now so attracted. Thus Shetland has arrived in 1975 at a situation where it produces large quantities of fish, shellfish, raw wool, lamb on the hoof, hosiery and store cattle. It imports nearly all of its food, fuel (despite the peat that is used in rural areas), footwear, clothing, drugs (including drink, tobacco and NHS prescriptions), boats, motor vehicles, machinery, fishing and farming equipment, household furniture and utensils of all kinds. It also imports most of its capital - 95% of local authority costs are met by rate support grant and an increasing number of industrial enterprises are dominated by external finance. This is a familiar enough process in all "civilised" countries and need surprise only those who journey north hoping to find an "unspoilt island paradise".

The "rot", if so we are to regard it, had certainly set in when the after-effects of the Treaty of Union allowed the lairds to "turn merchant". It is probably impossible to try and identify a "Golden Age" when the human population of Shetland lived in dynamic equilibrium with the natural resources that it cropped for subsistence. If there ever was such a time the limitations on the ~~xxxx~~ numbers of the human species must have been infant deaths, drownings,

malnutrition and epidemics, which takes away some of the gilt. We can of course see how what equilibrium there was came to be disturbed by the increase in human numbers and technological complexity that occurred between the Napoleonic Wars and the present. The period of this study may perhaps be seen as the time when the human population of Shetland and its available resources got out of step, although even then Shetland probably produced most of its own food, clothing, and fuel and housing. Few but the rich imported any quantity of food, clothing or superfluities, and even they often burned peat. But the equation cannot simply be expressed in terms of population and resources; it is greatly complicated by the social and economic organisation practised and enforced by the ruling class.

We have seen that, far from having a simple system for exploiting the resources (human and "natural") of Shetland, the Norse worked a "method" of extraordinary complexity, as is evident from the systems of inheritance and taxation that they brought with them from Norway and developed here. Not only the necessity and convenience of trade, but also the variety of the sources of subsistence within the islands, contributed to a complex organisation for the procurement and distribution of resources and the collection of accumulated surplus. We should always remember that, far from being in a state of primitive communism (as the run-rig system was once thought to indicate), the Norse in Shetland had distinct caste and class divisions, complete with lairds, merchants, udallers, tenants and thralls. Whatever else we may say about their Scots successors, they never seriously suggested the reintroduction of thralldom, however nearly their own system approached it on occasions.

One of the main purposes of the Norse social system, like the Scots one that supplanted and modified it, was to ensure the distribution of resources and surplus in an unequal manner. Large quantities of surplus produce were paid to the Kings and Earls of Norway, though perhaps not on the ruinous scale of the eighteenth century. In return the udallers and landowners got law and defence of a sort. Their thralls and tenants probably got little but military service in unholy and unpopular butchery on behalf of their superiors.

It seems reasonable to suggest that in Norse times as in Scots the exported surplus of the islands was greater than the amount required to buy in strictly necessary imports. The balance, spent on superfluous consumption at arbitrary prices, was used to get the tenants and poor udallers into debt, and to support both the extravagant personal consumption of the Shetland ruling class as well as the personal, military and ecclesiastical revenues of their patrons in the south.

The Scots improved upon and extended the Norse system for milking the Shetladd cow. They probably gave even less value for money (or for produce in kind), at least to the ordinary working people. They did this by creating a settler class (including the Mouats) who were bound kx closely to the southern authorities by ties of contractual obligation, patronage and pecuniary self-interest. In time this class persuaded the more gullible "hardy sons of vikings" (as some more recent Shetlanders have been apt to call them) to imitate and assimilate all things Scots. The "hardy sons of vikings" were not sold down the river; to a large extent they seem to have sold themselves.

One may take one's criticisms of this iniquitous parasitism as far as did the ministers of 1790 - 1808, or one may go further; the critics of the lairds (and of Scots and British governments) went so far as to demand that the "Zetland method" should be operated "fairly"; that the lairds, in return for their rents and other exactions, should provide the goods and services required by the tenantry and their dependants; that the government and the church (always a prominent parasite) should provide the island ruling class and through them (in theory and indirectly) the working producers of wealth, with the military protection, fair administration and capital investment to which the taxpayers should have been entitled by virtue of their considerable remittances to the central authorities.

The Liberals who enforced the Crofters' Acts on the lairds in the 1880's were acting in the same spirit and tradition as the writers of the Old Statistical Accounts and the SSPCK critics. So for that matter are the liberals of all parties and of none who to this day petition Whitehall, St Andrew's House and the oil companies to give a fair deal to Shetland.

What two hundred years of liberal critics have failed to see is that by its very nature the Shetland system of merchant/landowner/entrepreneur exploitation of resources creates enormous and rarely neglected opportunities for petty corruption, veiled extortion and deceit. Such a system can never work "fairly" because "fairness", in 1775 or in 1975, would remove the props that support the insupportable and excessive consumption of the ruling class. (If anyone still doubts the existence of a ruling class in present-day Shetland they are referred to the persuasive writings of Mr Brian Smith[illegible] and to my own volume, "Shetland's Oil" (in press).)

There was in 1775 and still is an alternative, though here we must confine ourselves to the past rather than the present. Shetland could have been a self-governing, rather egalitarian, largely self-reliant society harvesting renewable resources and relying upon only the necessary minimum of costly trade to support its own population and contribute to the well-being of the peoples with whom it traded. Such a decentralised and of necessity cooperative system might have been even more complicated to organise than was the "Zetland method" in its heyday, but it was possible. That is was not thought practicable, nor thought of at all in the eighteenth century, is an indictment not only of the Shetland ruling class (who had no interest in such a system) but also of the liberal critics who ignored all the evidence that the root cause of Shetland's troubles was the colonialist attitude of the British authorities.

The picturesque and sad remains of crofting hamlets, enclosed common land, the faint outline of the rigs and balks in such places as Norwick township, and the more geometrical field systems that partially obliterated them, are things that intrigued me as an historical geographer obsessed with the "feel" of landscape. Their deeper significance is as evidence of the indignities, the oppressions and the hardships borne by the people of Shetland, the people of the island where I now live and work.

Why was their resistance confined to sporadic and rather ineffective sabotage? Various reasons have been discussed in the chapters on "The Zetland Method" and "The Tenants and the Land"; here we move into the realms of historical psychology. I can offer further circumstantial evidence in traits which can still be observed in the social behaviour of many Shetlanders today, the people who have inherited many of the ideas and attitudes of their eighteenth century ancestors (however great their present enthusiasm for "progress" and "innovation", under the impression that by "consumerism" shall their lives be enriched.)

We observed in the eighteenth century the dumb insolence, the feigned respect for their "betters", and the very occasional outbursts against authority. Then as now the Shetlanders, whatever their outward demeanour, often kept their true thoughts to themselves when in dangerous company. There is still a very strong and consciously expressed individualism, an almost violent belief in the virtues of personal independence. This has had its admirable side, for example: the Norse settlers who colonised an unknown land; the minority of overwhelmed Picts who would not accept Norse domination, preferring to withdraw to such lonely spots as Petester where for a time they continued their independent existence; the tenant of Sanderson of Buness who opposed him at law; the men of Uyea Isle who once defied Thomas Mouat and Thomas Leisk; the bold John Clerk and his mother who smashed up a laird's fishing dory; and indeed in the individualism of the many entrepreneurs who (with some public money) revitalised the industries of Shetland in the late 1960's.

The other side of this individualism can be petty feuds; the collapse of cooperative ventures (the "Linen Company" in 1770 and "Shetland Limes" in 1969); the resistance to any form of cooperative initiative; the neglect of hill pastures and peat banks to the detriment of all. The result of this individualism in the seventeenth century was unimpeded progress to minority rôle and in the mid twentieth century the takeover of small private businesses (and even producers' cooperatives) by large capitalist enterprises in the "oil-boom" Lerwick of 1975.

Paradoxically, the other feature of Shetland life that has always been extolled, by admiring visitors and native propagandists alike, is the extraordinary "community spirit". In 1775 as now it manifested itself in the cooperation of many people to organise the herding of many square miles of hill grazings; in the care of the old, the sick, the unfortunate and the bereaved; in the arrangements for festivals and dancing; in the cultivation of the land when there were neither enough people to "dell" nor (today) tractors to plough.

We see here the dual personality of Shetland, as unpredictable and paradoxical as the islands' weather. Behind the cumulative cioncidences of personal fortunes and apparently haphazard occurences we have glimpsed the general trends in the historical geography of the place. Many of the things described and investigated in this study appear to have been inevitable; if Thomas Mouat had not occupied his particular niche, no doubt some other bright young laird would have done it for him - until gout, "gravel", melancholia and morbid disillusion finished him off. What happened may have been inevitable in the context of the "Zetland Method". This does not mean that we must accept without criticism a theory of pure historical determinism and explain the eighteenth century in Shetland solely in the ~~already~~ dreary dogmatism of "class struggle" and "historical forces". Class struggle and historical forces are about people, about individuals. The people of Shetland, as distinct from their human parasites, <u>could</u> have changed their own history. They did not do so and we still do not really know why.

Perhaps we should let "Truckit Tammie's" wife "Jeannie" have the last say, or almost the last. When the old couple were, according ~~the~~ to the "John o'Groat Journal", eventually evicted by the heirs and representatives of their beloved lairds, it was she who reproved him for giving vent to his feelings;

"O! Tammie, Tammie, doo's no tinkin' what doo's sayin'; I hoop do kens wha tells wis ta pray guid an' no evil for dem dat du's evil ta wis, an' wha hae we ta läik ta noo bit him, an' why sood we affend him by disobeyin' him? I tink it wad be mair laek a Christian if do wad pray dat dey micht see da evil o' der y's, an' turn frae duin' ill ta duin' guid."

"Blissins on her" said "Tammie", "fur shu ay pits me richt whin I gang rang." Sickening, perhaps, but strangely familiar. It is hard to be hopeful that the people of Shetland will this time do any better, or that they will learn the lessons of their own history and fight the re-colonisation of their islands. This time the parasite is not a mere laird, nor a ~~sm~~ small-town merchant, nor even a silly old minister; it is a conglomeration of international capitalist oil companies (including state capitalist syndicates), and promises to make a far worse mess of Shetland's people and places than the combined efforts of all its historical inhabitants.

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Chapter 8. APPENDICES

Chapter 8. Appendix 1

Genealogical Summary of the Mouat and Henderson families.

Genealogical summary of the Mouat family showing the succession of the estate from the mid sixteenth century until 1824

(?) MOUAT
of Swinzie, Caithness
(16th century)
had 2 sons

his second son

ANDREW MOUAT
of Hogaland in Delting parish
was in Shetland by 1572
He married
1; Ursula Tulloch of Skea, Unst
2; Elsie Trondisdaughter of Erifirth, Norway (sister of Anna Trondisdaughter, who eloped with Bothwell)

He had 5 sons

his 1st son

JOHN MOUAT
of Hogaland
(died 1617)
He married
Christian Stewart,
bastard daughter of
Robert Stewart, Earl of Orkney.

From them are descended the Hogaland and Hamnavoe (Northmavine) branches of the family.

Gilbert Mouat's 1st son

JAMES MOUAT
of Ollaberry, Northmavine
(In 1641 presented supplication to the General Assembly as Commissioner for Shetland)

From him the Ollaberry (Northmavine) branch of the family is descended.

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his 5th son

GILBERT MOUAT, M.A.
Minister of Northmavine parish and later of Delting
(1579 - c.1636)
He married
1; Janet Pitcairn, daughter of another minister of Northmavine
2; Margaret Forbes

He had 5 sons and one daughter

Gilbert Mouat's second son

THOMAS MOUAT
(I) of Garth
(c.1596 - 1684)
Acquired the Garth lands of Delting from his brother James Mouat of Ollaberry (left)
He married
1; Barbara Sinclair of Houss (Burra)

He had 2 sons

Genealogical summary of the Mouat family .....

Thomas Mouat of Garth's 1st son

ARTHUR MOUAT
(1645 - 1733)
He was disinherited by the partiality of his mother in favour of his brother Andrew Mouat (right)
He married;
Ursula Neven of Windhouse, Yell

Had at least one child.

his 1st son

ROBERT MOUAT
merchant at Burravoe, Yell
(c.1689 - 1724)
He married;
(1713) Elizabeth Ramsay, daughter of Robert Ramsay, minister of Yell.

Had 2 sons (William Mouat of Garth and Thomas Mouat (IV)) and 2 daughters.

Died young, his affairs being managed by his cousin Thomas Mouat (II).

his 1st son

WILLIAM MOUAT
of Burravoe and Garth
(1714 - 1790)
Shipmaster in Yell, merchant in Burravoe and Uyeasound, landowner in Unst, Yell, Delting and elsewhere.
He married;
(1740) Elizabeth Bruce, daughter of Andrew Bruce of Urie, Fetlar.
Succeeded his father's cousin Thomas Mouat (II) of Garth in 1767.

Had 2 sons and one daughter.

Thomas Mouat of Garth's second son

ANDREW MOUAT of Garth
(died 1707)
Succeeded through the partiality of his mother.
He married;
Elizabeth Umphray, only daughter of Laurence Umphray, minister of Walls parish.

Had 4 sons and one daughter.

his 1st son

THOMAS MOUAT
(II) of Garth
(1680 - 1767)
He died childless and unmarried, aged 87, leaving the Garth lands and his merchant business to William Mouat of Garth, son of his first cousin, Robert Mouat of Burravoe.

Genealogical summary of the Mouat family .....

his daughter	His 1st son	his 2nd son
ELIZABETH MOUAT (1747 - 1778) Married Robert Hunter of Lunna. Died leaving a young family.	THOMAS MOUAT of Garth and Belmont. (1748 - 1819) He married; (1776) Elizabeth Nicolson of Lochend, who inherited Bressay and Noss in 1797 from her uncle James Henderson of Gardie. Thomas Mouat had an illegitimate daughter, Peggy Mouat (c.1774 - 1813) who married Peter Weir, tenant in Ferrygates, Haddington, in 1805, and had issue.	JOHN MOUAT of Garth and Annsbrae (1752 - 1824) He married; (1778) Jean Thomson of Ingliston, Edinburgh. (died) (1784) Catherine McMurdo of Ardwall, Kirkcudbright. Inherited the estate from his brother in 1819. Had 2 sons and 3 daughters.

John Mouat's children:

1. MARGARET MOUAT of Garth and Belmont
   (1779 - 1871)
   Married
   Captain William Cameron of Dingwall
   From them were descended the Camerons and Mouat-Camerons until 1967.

2. ELIZABETH MOUAT
   (Born and died, 1781)

3. WILLIAM MOUAT of Gardie and Annsbrae
   (1785 - 1836)
   Married (1809)
   Eliza Cunningham of Pittarthie, Fife
   Had no children, his part of the estate passing to his sister Margaret in 1836.

4. GEORGE MOUAT
   (1787 - 1813)

5. ANN MOUAT
   (1791 - 1808)
   After whom the house and estate of Annsbrae were named.

Genealogical summary of the Henderson family showing the succession of the estate from the sixteenth century until 1797

(HEINRICH HENDERSON)
Great Foude, Lawman and Chancellor of Shetland in the early fifteenth century or before. Had a charter from King Christian of Denmark.

He is supposed to have been the ancestor of

WILLIAM MAGNUSSON
(died C. 1617)
First mentioned in 1575 as one of the complainers against Laurence Bruce of Cultmalindie.
Baillie of Unst, 1582.
Under-Foude of Unst, 1598.

His son

HENRY WILLIAMSON
of Buness and Gardie, Unst.
(died 1632)
married;
Elizabeth Mudie

His 1st son

MAGNUS HENDERSON
of Buness
(mentioned 1627 - 1664)
married;
Katherine Neven of Windhouse, Yell
had 8 sons and 1 daughter

His 1st son

NINIAN HENDERSON
of Buness and Gardie
(mentioned 1657 - 1664)
married;
1; Elizabeth Scott of Voesgarth
2; Agnes Ross, widow of John Edie, merchant at Uyeasound.
Had 4 sons and 5 daughters.

His 1st son

WILLIAM HENDERSON
of Gardie
(died 1728)
mentioned 1688 in a charter from his father.
Married;

Genealogical summary of the Henderson family .....

1; Janet Williamson, daughter of Laurence Williamson, shipmaster in Bressay.
2; Katherine Mitchell of Berrie, widow of William Neven of Windhouse, Yell.
(She married James Stewart after William Henderson's death)
Had 3 sons and 3 daughters.

William Henderson's first son

MAGNUS HENDERSON
of Gardie
(1695-1733)
Built Gardie House in Bressay, 1724.
married;
(1725) Elizabeth Mitchell of Girlsta, his cousin.
Died aged 38 leaving debts from which the estate never recovered.
Had 2 sons and 3 daughters.

His 1st son

JAMES HENDERSON
of Gardie
(?1722-1797)
married;
(1756) Jean Rose, his first cousin (daughter of Magnus Henderson's sister Margaret by her 2nd marriage to Henry Rose, Collector of Customs at Lerwick)

Had no children

On his death the estate passed to his neice Elizabeth Nicolson, wife of Thomas Mouat of Belmont, and daughter of James Henderson's sister Barbara by her marriage to William Nicolson of Bullister and Lochend.

Chapter 8. Appendix 2

"The Old Country Acts,
or Abridgements thereof"
from Gifford, 1733,
Appendix X.

Gifford, 1733, Appendix X.

"The old Country Acts, or Abridgements thereof.

Act 1. THAT the baillie in each parish concur and assist in the discipline of the kirk and execution thereof.

2. That none miscarry or lay down the cross under a penalty of ten pounds Scots, totious quotious.

3. That all weights and measures be yearly adjusted, marked, and observed, conform to the several acts made there anent, under the pains of ten pounds, and doubling thereof as often as contravined.

4. That all thiggers of wool, corn, fish, and others, be apprehended wherever they come, by any that can find them, and to put them in firmance, to be punished with the stocks and joggs; and that none receive them in their houses, nor give them hospitality or service, under the pain of ten pounds, to. qu.

5. Annent destroying of ravens, corbies, &c. in manner and under the pains in the act of parliament made there anent.

6. That good neighbourhood be observed and keeped by timous and sufficient bigging of decks, and putting up of grinds and passages, keeping and closing the same; and that none big up accustomed grinds or passages through towns, or any close up the king's high road, under the pain of ten pounds; that all decks be sufficiently built before the last of March so as all cattle may be kept without decks from the time that the labouring begins; and whatsoever person shall wilfully allow their cattle to tread upon their neighbour's ploughed land or meadows, before the first of May, shall pay for each swine ten shillings, for each sheep two shillings, for each horse, mare, or colt six shillings; doubling the said pains after the first of May, besides payment of the damages; and that they pay forty shillings for each winter slop found in their decks after the first of May: That whoever= neglects to close the grinds, or breaks down, or goes over decks, shall pay for each time they do so forty shillings Scots, besides the damages; that all within one deck keep good neighbourhood to others, by thetering (i.e. tethering), herding and folding, as well by day as by night, and not to pasture upon, or overlay others with their cattle, nor unlawfully hurd and drive upon others, under the pain of forty shillings for each fault, to. qu. beside damages; and that none have more swine than effeiring to their land labouring; and that none have swine pasturing upon their neighbour's land, meadows, grass, commonalty and pasturage, neither within or without decks, that hath no swine pasturing upon them, and that they keep their swine upon their own ground under the pain of ten pounds, by and attour the damages, and that building, punding, and hurding, be used in lawful way before or a little after sun-setting, and that none scare, hurd, or brack up their neighbours punds and buills, under the pain of ten pounds besides damages.

7. That none go into other mens holms or isles under the pain of ten pounds for the first fault, twenty pounds for the second, and for the third to be repute as thieves, and prosecute accordingly; moreover, by act the 3d of July, 1628, that the said penalties be exacted, and the one-half thereof to be delivered to the judge, and the other half to the dilaters or owners of the holms.

8. That none keep sheep-dogs but such as are appointed or allowed by the sheriff or baillie, with the advice of the special honest men in the parish, whose names are to be recorded in the court books, and each of them to be answerable for their actings; and that none run after sheep with a dog unaccompanied, or take in and kill any until first showing the mark to a rancellman, or other honest man, under the pain of ten pounds Scots money for the first fault, besides payment of damages, and doubling the said pain for the second, and for the third fault to be a point of dity, and the contraviners to be holden and repute as thieves, and discharged to use or keep a sheep-dog, in all times coming; and that none mark lambs or row sheep where there is different owners in the flock, but at the sight of sufficient witnesses under the pains aforesaid; moreover, if any person shall use a sheep-dog, and run therewith after his own sheep amongst those of his neighbours unaccompanied; mark, row, or take home any without showing the same as aforesaid, shall pay for the first fault four angels; for the second six angels; and for the third, or at any time under the cloud of night, shall be holden and repute a common thief, and punished accordingly.

9. That none blood, hurt, or mutilate their neighbour's nolt (cattle?), sheep, or horses, under the pain of ten pounds Scots, beside payment of damages.

10. That all dogs in the respective parishes, be tried yearly by the baillie or the rancellmen, and other honest men in the parishes; and if they be found to have dogs that take, or may take sheep, who are not allowed to keep sheep-dogs, shall pay according to the former act, and the dogs so found to be hanged, and all running dogs to be discharged, under the pain of forty shillings, to be paid by the owner of the dog, to. qu. and the dog to be hanged.

11. That the rancellmen be yearly sworn and examined, or as often as needful, and give an account to the sheriff or baillie anent their diligence; and that they see all wool-skins, heads, and marks whatsomever; and that they sell all cloths and stockings made of wool, and compare the same with the stock of the makers; and all lines and tomes made of horse-hair, and keep accounts thereof; and that they take up inventories from Smiths and Websters of all work wrought by them; and that none refuse rancelling, or to give up inventories, or quarrel, or offend at rancelling, under the pain to be repute and punished as thieves.

12. That none fee or seduce another man's servant, except they be discharged of their masters, or that they have discharged themforty days before a lawful term, and that none receive such servant who are not free of their service, nor give them hospitality nor entertain them, nor flit them either by land or sea; nor are they to be received,

nor entertained, though free, into any other parish, without a testimonial; and that none keep in their houses idle women, vagabonds, or housefolk, not let houses to such, under the pain of ten pounds, to. qu.

13. Act, August 1630, ratifying the former Act, forbidding any person to marry and set up house who has not forty pounds Scots of free gear, or some lawful trade to live by; and that none set house or land to such persons under the pain of ten pounds said money; and that none seduce, force, or transport any other man's son, daughter or servant, forth of the country, under the pain of one hundred pounds Scots money.

14. That none ride, labour, or use, any other man's horse without liberty of the owner, under the pains following, viz.without in the parish where the owner dwells, to pay four marks to the sheriff or baillie, and other four marks to the delators or informers; and from one parish to another to double, trible, and quadruple, the foresaid pain effeirent to the parishes he passes through; and that none cut away other man's horse-tail or main, under the pain of ten pounds; moreover 3rd of September, this act ratified, and the contraveners thereof the 2d or 3d time to be punished as thieves.

15. That none hide nor conceal any kind of theft, sorcery, witchcraft, riots, blood, or other injury, and prejudices done, but shall delate and report the same to their baillie, as they will eschew to be repute as partakers thereof, and punished according to law.

16. That the baillie in each parish take order with the trying and adjusting of bismers, with the stoups, cans, and other mets and measures, under the pains contained in the act of parliament; and that a lispound upon the bismer used for receiving of rent butter, and other merchandise bought and sold, be 28 pound, or one quarter of an hundred weight, allowed by law in all grocery ware; and that the can wherein the rent oil is measured, as also that used in buying and selling, contain one Scots quart and a mutchkin of water and no more. That the ell on which all coarse cloth, linen, and stuffs are measured, be 3 feet 1 inch, or 37 inches long; and that the ell called the Websters ell be 3 feet 4 inches, or 40 inches long, on which only unscored cloth is measured.

17. That none shear sheep on Sunday, under the pain of ten pounds.

18. That none meddle with other mens goods or gear at their own hand, under pretence of alledged debt, especially the goods in their own keeping, under the pain of ten pounds Scots, besides restoring of the goods with their profits.

19. That none buy victual in wholesale, and retail it at a greater price before publication of eight days warning, under a pain of forty pounds Scots, to. qu.

20. That no brewer sell ale dearer, nor effeirent to the price of the malt; and that it be sufficient drink and measure, under the pain of confiscation.

21. That none mix ale, beer, or wine, under the pain of confiscation.

22. That bounds have no more persons in their families than effeirent to their estates and land labouring, and that they put one or more of them to another master, that needs servants, conform to the ancient form of the country.

23. That none delve, till, take on pasture from their neighbours land or grass, under the pain of 10 pounds Scots, beside the payment of damages.

24. That none repair to feasts uncalled, under the pain of 40 shillings Scots.

25. That poinded goods be loosed within six hours after advertisement, and the sute (Substitúta? - i.e. Sheriff Substitute?) satisfied, under the pain of 40 shillings Scots; and being advertised, denies the goods, shall pay 6 pounds Scots; or if they take them away at their own hand, shall pay 10 pounds Scots.

26. That none remove from land or houses of their own accord, or shall demolish or take away any thing belonging thereto, although furnished by themselves, under the payment of 20 pounds beside payment of the damage.

27. That all persons have sufficient corn yard dykes; and that no mends be made for corn eaten within corn yards, except where more than one is concerned in the yard; he that hath the insufficient deck must pay the other's damage; as also for all marks the owner whereof must pay the damage.

28. That none libb any beast upon Sunday, under the pain of 20 pounds Scots.

29. That all bloods and riots be assithed according to justice.

30. That all briggs and common passages be kept in repair by the persons used to repair them, under the pain of 10 pounds.

31. That none use staff bismers, nor any other, save such as are adjusted, and marked to buy and sell on, under the pain of 20 pounds Scots.

32. That every scatald have a sufficient pund, under the pain of 10 pounds Scots.

33. That none use musel bait, or other bait, but such as all or most part of the fishers have, under the pain of 10 pounds; and that none fish with haddock lines within voes, from Belton to Marts, or so long as they can draw haddocks on hand lines, under the like pain of 10 pounds Scots; and that none take bait, nor cut tang in another man's ebb, under the like pain of 10 pounds.

34. That all persons living in neighbourhood, keep order, law, and good neighbourhood, in tilling, labouring and manuring the ground, conform to the ancient custom formerly observed, under the pain of 12 pounds Scots, and failing therein, to be put from land labouring, and

35. That all horses belonging either to utscatlders or inscatlders, oppressing and overlaying the neighbourhood, be instantly removed, after due advertisement given to their owners, and at the kirk door, under the pain of being confiscat and escheat to the king.

36. That none contemptuously pasture upon, rive flawes, cut floss, or cast peats, in their neighbours scatald, under the pain of 10 pounds Scots, nor that any cut floss before Lammas-day in their own scatald, without due advertising the neighbours of the scatald, under the pain of 40 shillings Scots, to. qu. and that none have more swine than four upon a last of land (36 merks) over winter, under the pain of ten pounds.

37. That none keep scar sheep, except it be in the holms or nesses, dickt in, properly belonging to themselves, under the pain of 10 pounds Scots, and forfeiture of the sheep after six months' advertisement.

38. That none bring nor teather their horses within the decks of Kirktowns, under the pain of forty shillings Scots, for each time they do so, without liberty asked and granted.

39. That the sheriff of each parish, with twelve honest men there, ride the marches of the parish, betwixt the 1st of October and the last of April, yearly, or when required thereto by the Scatalders, under the pain of forty pounds.

40. That each sheriff have the heall country acts authentikly extracted under the steuart clerks hands, and cause read at least the abreviate thereof in their sheriff courts twice a year, or once at least, that none may pretend ignorance of the same, and take true tryal of the breaches thereof, and cause poynd for the same, and that they find caution for what part thereof may be due to the sheriff, or pror fiscal in his name, and deliver the same to the sheriff at the head court, under the pain of deprivation; and that each sheriff have an authentic court book, wherein all their acts and process of court shall be written and set down, and that the same be produced to each clerk at the circuit courts kept in the parish, under the pain of deprivation.

41. That none go to sea, or be employed about fishing, from sun set on Saturday nights till sun rising on Monday morning, nor travel by sea or land about their secular affairs or business, or any other way imployed therein on the Sabbath-day, except in works of necessity and mercy, under the pain of 10 pounds Scots, by and attour the penalties and punishments ordained by law against all Sabbath-breakers."

Chapter 8. Appendix 3

An extract from Thomas Mouat's "Vade Mecum" notebook describing the various payments from lands in Shetland.

Appendix 3.

The land rent of Zetland is generally paid in butter and money, a merk of land is of different rent, running from 4 to 12 pennies per merk, the intermediate numbers are 6, 8, 9 and 10.

Each penny of which merk consists pays 1⅓ merks butter and 1⅓ shillings scots money.

N. This money payment is a conversion from coarse woolen [sic] cloth (called wadmail) at the rate of 4/- Scots per cuttel or measure of 18 inches.

Besides the above payments most lands pay 8d per merk yearly called a Grassum. Such lands as pay not this Grassum are called "Grassum Free".

Landmails butter is payable at Lammas for the rising crops, and the money at Martinmas following.

Each merk land except in the north isles pays a hen or two cocks to the proprietor of the parishes.

Days work are various, in some parishes out of use, in others 3, 4 and 6 are paid.

Fued [sic] Lands

Lands fued from the Crown pay generally Butter and money according to the foregoing rule by the penny lands ley or laboured, and the grassums or other additional rent is payable to the holder of the fue [sic].

Fue duties are payable at Martinmas of the year following the crop paid for.

Lands called Umboth Lands have belonged to the Bishops and now pay to the Crown. Some of them are feud and pay generally

a certain lump sum of money.

Scatt is payable from most lands. It was the redendo payable to the Crown of Norway while Zetland was under the dominion of that country, and is still paid to the Crown of Britain or its donators, in butter, oil and money or either of them, according to use in different parishes, when the lands are laboured only, and amounts to 1d to 17d sterling per merk land.

Generally each Scattald (or district of a known boundary) is charged with a certain payment, and then each merk of that scattald pays equally, but there are exceptions to this rule, so that the Chamberlain's rental regulates the quantum, or rather use and wont.

~~Holm~~ - Inhabited Isles that have no priviledge of pasture on the adjoining shores or continent, pay no scatt. Such as have priviledge, do.

Rooms that have no pasture priviledge of their own pay a scatt to their neighbours for a priviledge. Such lands are called Grass Lands." ~~Fulbert Scat~~?

Scatt is payable at Martinmas following for the preceeding years crops. It was anciently payable in butter, oil and wadmail.

Wattle is likewise payable to the Crown. It is generally about 1/- scots per merk of land, but in some rentals is classed in with sheep and ox money and a certain sum of money for all three laid on each scattald amounting to from ¾d to 3½d scots per merk.

Some parishes pay sheep and ox money distinct, then a fixed sum is charged on the whole parish, in Unst it was £24 scots.

Some lands from Use and Want pay no watle [sic].

This payment is said to have been obtained by the Popish

clergy begging for pious uses and afterwards continued yearly. Others say it was a present made to Earl Bothwell by the heritors of Zetland.

It is payable at the same term with scatt and feu duties. Ao.1600 When Patrick, Earl of Orkney built his castle at Scalloway.

He is said arbitarily to have assessed Zetland in 9 oxen and 122 sheep to support his table but altho' his oppressions brought him to the scaffold, the Crown's donator's continue this unpopular payment, and have converted it into money and raised it to near double the original payment and conjoined it in the rentals with wattle, and payable at the same term.

Teinds.

Corn teind is converted into butter and oil, and in some parishes into money, it amounts to from 6d to 16d per merk land, according to use and wont.

There is Umboth and Parsonage Cornteind in each ministry, the first payable now to the Crown in place of the bishop, the other to the incumbent, both at the term of Martinmas following, when the lands are laboured only. The ipsum corpus is still paid in some places, commonly called the drawn sheaf.

Vicarage or Casual teinds are payable to the incumbent only, from Boats, Sheep, Cows, the rates differ in the several parishes, and the payment is made in fish, butter, oil and money. Ex: Unst pays 12 ling from every boat at the Ling fishing.

North Yell, Mid Yell and Fetlar pay 12 ling for each four-oared and 18 ling for each six-oared boat. South Yell pays 4 canns oil (now 2¼ Scots pints per) for each six-oared boat only, all payable at Lammas. From every 30 head of old sheep a Lamb and 3 to 4 merk

(now 1½lb Amsterdam) of wool is paid, which used to be converted at 20d Sterling. From every cow, from 3 to 5 merk of butter is now paid, according to circumstances.

Cess or land tax was first imposed on Zetland by Oliver Cromwell about 1650 and has been continued, Zetland paying one third of the County of Orkney and Zetland. Formerly both the udal lands and vicarages were assessed, now only the udal land is, each merk of 10,500 paying equally tho' very different in rent and value. Sir Lawrence Dundas' estate pays one third of the Cess of Zetland. It amounts to £120 Sterling when the land tax is 3/- a pound in England and £170 when it is 4/- in the pound; and to defray this sum and other expenses of the country, 4d to 6d per merk land is imposed by the Commissioners of Supply.

The foregoing payments to the Crown and Clergy are much complained of as increased in quantity, The Lispund on which butter etc. is weighed having increased from 18 to 30 lb Amsterdam. & the Can of Oil from one and three fourth pints to two pints and a mutchkin Scots.

The increases have taken place probably from design and contrivance of the Chamberlains and acquiesced in by the landholders from the mistaken notion that their rents were thereby increased. They now see the error.

The Penal price of butter not delivered to the Chamberlain used to be 58 pence Scots per lispund and 48 pence in Dunrossness parish. That of Oil 6 pence Scots per can. Now he claims 7/6d for the one and 1/- Scots for the other, or the highest price of the commodity at the time.

Few have yet submitted to this conversion, and there is yet no legal decision on the point.

Chapter 8. Appendix 4

"Inventory of household furniture
and farming Utensils at Belmont,
1st January, 1788."

By

Thomas Mouat, Gardie Mess, 1788.

INVENTORY of Household furniture & farming Utensils at Belmont at 1st January 1788.

4 Good feather Beds with Bolsters & pillows	40/-	8	-	-
3 old Do. wt. Do.	25/-	3	15	-
2 feather Do. for Serv. w. Do.	25/-	2	10	-
1 small Do. for Do. wt.Bolster		-	15	-
2 Flock Beds	12/-	1	4	-
6 p Eng: Blankets good	10/-	3	-	-
24 p.Shitts & Moffat Do.	7/-	8	8	-
4 Rugs £2 8 Binders	20/-	3	-	-
8 Servs. coverings at 6/- & 2/6		1	14	-
5 Cotton Quilts		5	5	-
1 India Counterpane		1	6	-
3 Cotton Do. at £3 or 15/-, 1 woolen do. 4/-		4	14	-
1 Mahog: Bedstead .. 4 posted		2	12	6
1 Elm Do. ... Do.		2	2	-
1 Wainscot Do. ... Do.		1	15	-
1 Tent Do.		1	12	-
1 Folding Servt. bed		-	12	-
2 Wainscot Do.		1	2	-
2 fir Do.		-	10	-
20 p. Sheets 21/- to 10/6 p.		16	14	-
5 p.half Do. 4 at 6/0. 1 at 4/-		1	10	-
8 Bolster slips 6 at 3/-		1	2	-
21 p. fine Pillow Slips	4/-	4	4	-
7 p. coarse Do. 4 at 18d.		-	9	6
Beds without Curtains		77	16	-
17 Table Cloths good		10	11	-
5 Breakfast Do. 2 coarse Do.		1	15	-
23 large Table Napkins at 2/6		2	17	6
29 tea Napkins 18 at 20d.11 at16d		2	4	8
24 fine Towels	1/-	1	4	-
12 coarse Do.		-	7	-
12 Table rubbers		-	4	-
11 damask Napkins	2/6	1	7	6
3 Mahog. Bason, Hands	8/-	1	4	-
Fam: room Garret Stuff Bed		1	10	-
Kitchen bed hangings		-	2	-
Front Bedroom Eng. Cotton Bed & Window Hanging		6	-	-
Back B.room Yellow cotton bed & Window Curtain		6	10	-
Do. worsted & linen check & Do.		1	10	-
Front Garret, scarlet & white check do.		2	2	-
Back garret Dutch Cotton Do.		-	12	-
2 West Garret Bed Hangings blue & white Linen Check		-	14	-
Wing Bed Curtains, brown stuff		-	10	-
Servt. Closet Do., Green stuff		-	3	-
Drawing Room Windw Curtains		1	10	-
2 Toilets, 1 at 15/-, 1 at 9/-		1	4	-
9 Prints in the Parlour		2	12	6
3 Do. in Fam: Room		-	12	-
15 Do. in Drawg room		5	13	-
1 Picture there		2	2	-
4 Do. in Front B.R.		1	9	4
3 Do. in B.B.Room		1	5	6
16 Do. in closet		1	-	6
10 Do. in the Garrets & lob.		1	2	-
12 glaized frames		-	15	-
5 India Fire Screens at 5/-		1	5	-
Loom		-	4	-
Slab board		-	-	8
Staples & rods for Stair Carpet		-	8	-
9 chimney boards	1/4	-	12	-
1 Window board		-	1	-
		141	-	2
Tables				
1 large Mahog. Dining		2	-	-
1 Smaller Do. Do.				
1 Breakfast Do. Table		2	16	-
1 Tea Do. Table		2	2	-
1 round Tea Do. Table		-	15	-
1 Fly Do. Table		-	9	-
1 Wainscot Dressing table		-	10	-
1 old Oval Do.		-	5	-
1 round Do. Tea Table		-	8	-
1 Ships Do. Table		-	3	-
5 Toilet Tables	3/-	-	15	-
5 Drefsing Glafses		2	-	-
12 Mahog. Chairs, hair bottoms & brass tachets	15/-	9	-	-
6 Mahog. Bedroom Chairs	13/-	3	18	-
9 Elm Chairs, hair bottoms strap tachets	12/-	5	8	-
12 Elm Chairs, inferior		3	18	-
1 Beech Elbow Chair		-	6	-
5 Do. Kitchen Chairs	2/6	-	12	6
1 Beech foot stool		-	3	-
1 handsome Mahog. Tea Trae with Brafs hoop		1	13	-
1 plain Mahog. Trae		-	5	-
1 old broke Trae		-	3	-

INVENTORY continued:

1 Mahog. Tea Chest		10	-
2 japanned Hand boards		1	6
2 Mahog. Hand boards		-	8
4 Do. Bottle boards		2	-
Handsome Mahog. Knife Case	1	-	-
old Shagrun Do.		5	-
4 Bottle Bonnets		1	4
1 funnel & strainer		1	-
1 lemon squeezer		-	8
1 old japannd bread basket		2	-
1 Tea Vase Copper		15	-
1 Coffe Pot Do.		12	-
Spy Glafs		10	6
Mahog. for Screen		10	-
Backgammon Tables		10	6
Trou Madame Table	2	2	-
2 night Tables 18/- 14/-	1	12	-
3 new Wax cloth 4/-		12	-
Table covers	187	17	10
1 old Wainscot Box		3	-
3 Seaman's Chests	1	10	-
Yarn Winds, Box & birns		7	6
Lint Wheel		5	-
Do. Reel		2	-
Candlewick Reel		1	-
Hung Bell in furniture		7	6
2 Hand Bells		2	6
Cane Basket old		1	-
Bottle Basket		1	2
Cloathes Basket		1	-
3 p hand barrows		4	-
3 Wheel barrows 2 of which new at 11/-, and 5/-	1	7	-
2 Kelp Barrows		2	-
3 Do. Rakes 1/6		4	6
2 Do. Forks 6		1	-
1 long House Ladder		6	-
1 smaller Do. old		3	-
1 roof Do. Do.		2	-
1 Horse hoop cart & furs	1	10	-
1 small hand cart & Do.		12	-
2 Lime Riddles 4/- 2/6		6	6
2 ploughs one only good		7	6
1 Harrow		2	-
5 Spaids old 6d		2	6
1 Scythe		1	-
2 Tuskers		1	8
8 Corn Hooks 5d		3	4
2 Kelp Do. 4d		-	8
Hand Miln		1	6
2 Dunk forks		2	6
6 new Clibbers		7	-
2 good Do. beside old ones		1	8
Garden rake		1	6
Reel & line		1	3
	197	11	7

Mahog. Desk & Bookcase	8	8	-
Do. Drawers old	1	5	-
Cedar Prefs wh pigeonholes	1	5	-
small fir Drawers		3	-
Handsome 8 day Clock	7	-	-
Silver			
12 Table Spoons good	9	-	-
11 old Do.	2	3	4
1 new Dividers	2	10	-
12 Tea Spoons Good	2	-	-
10 worn Do. 1/6		15	-
1 Bread Basket	1	16	-
1 Epernon or Crofs	2	2	-
1 Tea pot & stand new	9	12	-
1 p. Tea tongues		14	-
1 punch Laddle		10	-
4 Drawing room Candlest.	1	16	-
4 Salt shovels 2/-		8	-
3 Wine Labels 1/6		4	6
Carpets			
1 large Scots for Dr. room	5	15	-
1 engrd Do. for Parlour	2	19	-
1 Do. Do. for Fr. Bedroom		18	-
2 worn Do. 15/- & 8/-	1	3	-
5 home made Do.	1	17	-
1 small Scots Do. Closet	-	-	-
2 7/- Do. 6d		7	6
China			
Table Set of 63 pieces	8	-	-
5 desert plates		4	-
5 Salts		10	-
2 small Tea pots		12	10
11 large Morning Cups & S.		12	10
10 large Tea Cups & S. 8d.		6	8
Hambr Set 31 pieces	2	-	-
7 Common cups & S.		4	8
9 White Cups & S.		12	-
1 large Cream pot		2	6
2 Slab bowls more		1	3
1 large Punch Bowl claspd		12	-
4 Smaller Bowls	1	10	-
Sugar dish & Cream pail of Derbyshire Petrefaction silver mounted	1	8	-
2 Table Mugs		10	-
2 Chinese figures		6	-
	279	2	10
Candlesticks			
1 Mahog. Db bracket		8	-
2 Mahog.		5	-
2 Temple Do. Brafs		7	6
1 bedroom do. wh exting. & Snuffers		2	-
1 hard metal do.		-	5

INVENTORY continued:

1 white iron broad do.	-	-	4
1 p polished steel snuffers	-	5	-
3 p Japannd Snuffers	-	1	-
4 Gilt Brackets cost £4	2	-	-
4 Mahog. Do.	-	8	-
3 old brafs candlesticks	-	2	-
3 japannd exting.	-	2	-
2 Box Irons & 5 heaters	-	7	-
1 Cloathes Horse	-	1	6
3 Norway Saes	-	6	6
1 Trough	-	1	6
2 iron hoopd large Vats	-	14	-
2 smaller Do.	-	9	-
1 Beef cask w Iron hoops	-	6	-
1 Beer cask Do.	-	7	-
2 Salmon cask	-	7	-
1 Barrel churn	-	4	-
1 Common Do.	-	4	-
1 large Bark Tub iron h	-	4	6
1 Barn Tub	-	2	6
5 Barrels in use 4/-	1	-	-
4 half Do. Do. 2/-	-	8	-
4 Anken Do. 10	-	3	4
2½ anken Do. 8	-	1	4
2 washing tubs	-	1	6
4 Milk Thils	-	3	4
1 small thil	-	-	8
3 work ladles	-	1	-
1 bucket	-	-	5
1 funnel	-	-	6
Brafs lock	-	1	6
Curry Comb & Brush	-	1	6
Bird cage 1 ~~std.~~	-	4	-
[Illegible]	289	6	6
... pattern	1	5	-
1 cream old	-	15	-
2 porter Cups	-	3	-
1 doz. Mahog. handld Knives & forks, silver mounted	-	15	-
11 p green Ivory Do.Do.	-	11	-
½ doz.	-	1	8
1 Carving Knife & fork	-	1	-
½ doz. green Iv.	-	4	-
9	-	1	6
1 coffee pot stone	-	-	8
3 tea pots Do.	-	4	-
2 cream pots 2 sugar	-	3	4
1 mustard pot	-	-	8
7 basons	-	5	6
2 stone bottles	-	2	-
7	-	4	8
2 mugs 1/- 8d	-	1	8

Glafs			
Set of Castors wh silver tops	1	5	-
4 large 2 small Decanters 2/-	-	8	-
24 wine Glafses	-	12	-
10 punch Do. 5 old do. 6d	-	7	6
3 Ale Glafses 3/6, 2 Carafs 2/6	-	6	-
11 Tumblers	-	6	-
1 Sugar bason blue	-	-	8
Syllibub Server & 13 Glafses	1	1	-
3 Jelly Glafses	-	-	6
Case wh 7 Chop. Glafses	-	10	-
1 old Case wh 9 - 3 chop.Glafses	-	4	-
2 bottles	-	1	4
1 large Glafs bottle 1/6 1 pocket 1/-	-	2	6
37 Doz: Chop: bottles 2/-	3	14	-
5 Mulch bottles 2	-	-	10
1 fine Case Lamp, brafs mounted - cost £2.7.6.	1	10	-
	304	15	6
Grates			
1 Kitchen Grate, 2 stoves 4	2	-	-
2 fine Stone Grates w.fenders 21/-	2	2	-
2 Carron Grates & 2 fenders	1	10	-
4 set fire Irons good 5/-	1	-	-
2 cost 18/10	-	12	-
Kitchen furniture etc.			
4 Pots) 5 Kettles)	1	10	-
Copper Brewing Kettle	2	2	-
1 oval fish pan cost 9/6	-	6	-
1 copper Saucepan	-	12	-
1 copper deep pan	-	2	6
1 Goblet patent pan	-	4	-
3 small patent pans	-	4	6
3 Grid irons	-	8	-
2 frying pans	-	2	6
1 Dreeping pan	-	1	6
1 Batchellors Oven & furt	-	5	-
2 Spits, pair	-	5	-
Spit & furniture	2	-	-
1 plate warmer	-	7	6
Hacking Knife	-	1	-
Chopping Knife	-	1	-
Fire Shovel	-	2	-
old Camp Oven	-	2	-
Girdle etc.	-	2	-
2 Tongues's Collap do.	-	3	10
Shovel	-	2	-
Bellows	-	1	6
Bake board	-	1	4

INVENTORY continued:

Peat bucket		-	1	-
Water pail iron hoopd		-	1	6
House Lanthron cost 5/6		-	4	-
Japannd Tea pot		-	2	-
Brafs Salamander		-	12	-
Copper Kettle & Lamp		-	5	-
Tea		-	2	-
1 Brafs Tea Kettle	11/	-	8	-
1 Japannd Mug		-	1	6
2 fire Brushes old		-	1	4
2 floor Brushes		-	1	4
1 Table Brush		-	-	7
Tart pans 12	old	-	1	6
Pestle & Mortar		-	4	-
Graters		-	-	8
Besting Box		-	-	6
Scales		-	5	6
Bacon scales		-	12	-
		-	2	6
Horn Cup silver mounted		-	4	-
2 pudding pans		-	1	6
White iron Tea Kettle		-	1	6
Total Value		£325	-	7

T. MOUAT.

Chapter 8.

Appendix 5

Examples of sheep : cattle ratios

from the Court Books of Shetland,

1602 - 1604

from Donaldson (1958) p. 16.

Examples of sheep : cattle ratios from Court Books : 1602 - 1604

21 sheep	:	11 cattle	Whiteness
45 sheep	:	27 cattle	Veensgarth
6-10 sheep	:	4-6 cattle	Fetlar averages
30 sheep	:	13 cattle	James Strang, Vailzie, Fetlar
2 sheep	:	3 cattle	William Sutherland, Funnie, Fetlar
22 sheep	:	9 cattle	Average for Yell households
80 sheep	:	25 + other cattle	Ustaness (Whiteness)
80 sheep	:	13 + other cattle	Midbreck, Yell.

Chapter 8. Appendix 6

An abstract from Thomas Mouat's "Vade Mecum" notebook, "List of People on my Lands" in 1798, as estimated by the Reverend John Nicolson.

Showing:

Name of farm.
Number of males.
Number of females.
Number of families.

Vade Mecum, p.105, 1798.

List of People on my lands

ROOM	ROOM	No. of Families	NO. IN EACH FAMILY Totals	♂	♀
SKA	SKAW		4	1	3
			5	2	3
			7	3	4
			6	4	2
			5	2	3
			3	1	2
			2	2	0
			7	3	4
			6	2	4
		9	45	20	25
VELLIE	VELLIE	1	12	5	7
NORWICK	NORWICK.		5	1	4
			7	4	3
			7	4	3
			7	2	5
			4	2	2
		5	30	13	17
TURFHOUL	TURFHOULL		7	2	5
			6	5	1
			6	2	4
			2	1	1
			4	1	3
		5	25	11	14
HOYEA	HOYEA	1	11	5	6
DEAL	DEAL.		5	1	4
			3	2	1
		2	8	3	5

ROOM	No. of Families	NO.IN EACH FAMILY Totals	♂	♀
MOULAPUND	1	7	3	4
VALSGARTH		7	4	3
		7	4	3
	2	14	8	6
SKEGGA		5	3	2
		5	1	4
	2	10	4	6
GARRATON	1	8	3	5
SCLETONT	1	6	3	3
UPHOUSE		9	3	6
		5	3	2
	2	14	6	8
TUNON		9	2	7
		7	6	1
		4	0	4
	3	20	8	12
HOUL	1	11	5	6
NEWHOUSE	1	7	5	2

List of People on my lands continued:

ROOM		NO.IN EACH FAMILY		
	No. of Families	Totals	♂	♀
GARDIE	Gardie.	8	3	5
		9	6	3
	2	17	9	8
WESTERGARDIE	W. Gardie. 1	8	3	5
SOTLAND	Sotland.	6	3	3
		7	3	4
	2	13	6	7
BUDABREK	Budabreck. 1	2	1	1
CLIFF	Cliff. 1	6	3	3
HOULLAND	Houlland. 1	8	4	4
HABBIGARTH	Habbigarth. 1	7	3	4
SKEA	Skea.	3	1	2
		4	2	2
		9	5	4
	3	16	8	8
BROUGH	Brough.	5	2	3
		9	7	2
		5	2	3
		8	0	8
	4	27	11	16
SCREVILD	Screvild. 1	6	2	4

ROOM		NO.IN EACH FAMILY		
	No. of Families	Totals	♂	♀
SETTER	1	15	8	7
COLDBACK	1	2	1	1
GUDDON	1	6	2	4
WATLEY	1	6	2	4
COLLASTER	1	9	6	3
QUOY	1	7	3	4
VINSTRICK	1	7	1	6
CROSBISTER	1	7	2	5
GUNNISTER	1	3	1	2
SNABROUGH		5	1	4
		6	3	3
		3	2	1
	3	14	6	8
GARDON		8	5	3
		5	3	2
	2	13	8	5
STOURHOUL	1	5	1	4

List of People on my lands continued:

ROOM	No. of Families	Totals	♂	♀
		Snarravoe.		
SNARRAVOE		6	2	4
		4	2	2
	2	10	4	6
		Wadbister.		
WADBISTER		4	2	2
		6	3	3
		6	1	5
		6	3	3
	4	22	9	13
		Moula.		
MOULA		7	2	5
		4	3	1
	2	11	5	6
		Hogaland.		
HOGALAND		7	2	5
		6	4	2
	2	13	6	7
		Shortown.		
SHORE(TOWN) (Uyeasound)	1 (Umboth, Ronon etc.)	6	2	4
		Sundraquoy		
SUNDRAQUOY		8	6	2
		7	4	3
	2	15	10	5
		Mailand.		
MAILAND	1	4	1	3
		Murrister.		
MURRISTER	1	6	2	4
		Littlagarth.		
LITTLAGARTH	1	9	6	3

ROOM	No. of Families	Totals	♂	♀
RAMNAGOE		6	3	3
		4	1	3
		4	3	1
		5	2	3
		4	2	2
		7	2	5
	6	30	13	17
MUNESS		8	3	5
		6	4	2
		4	3	1
		7	3	4
		5	1	4
		4	3	1
		3	1	2
		8	5	3
		6	4	2
		7	4	3
		9	3	6
		7	5	2
		8	5	3
		1	1	0
	14	83	45	38
HANNIGARTH	1	6	3	3
SANDWICK	1	4	1	3
FRAMGORD		5	4	1
		5	3	2
	2	10	7	3

List of People on my lands continued:

ROOM	No. of Families	NO. IN EACH FAMILY Totals	♂	♀
		Colvadale.		
COLVADALE		2	1	1
		6	4	2
		4	2	2
		5	2	3
		5	3	2
	5	22	12	10
		Clugon.		
CLUGON	1	8	5	3
		Vatnigarth.		
VATNIGARTH	1	6	5	1
TOTALS	116	697	329	368
%		100	47.2	52.8
Mean per Family		6	2.8	3.2
(cf 1778 ...		6.4)		

TOTALS.
%.
Mean per Family.
(cf. 1778).

~~T.M's Estimate: 146 Families / 697 souls.~~

Chapter 8. Appendix 7

"Value of a Shetland fishing boat
of 18½ feet keel, April 1811 ..."

A Note by Thomas Leisk of Uyea
(Gardie Mss. No. 1,945)

Note by Thomas Leisk of Uyea, 1811, (No. 1,945).

"Value of a Shetland fishing boat of 18½ feet keel April 1811.

	£	s	d	£	s	d
The boat in boards				6		
Spirits to the men		1	4			
8½ hundred seam & ruve @ 1/6d		12	9			
Rounds 8/- claith for sker sye ¾		11	4			
1½ cans tar @ 3/-; Nails 5d		4	11			
200 seam & ruve (rivets) @ 1/6d		3				
Nails 1/4d, Round 2/1d, spirits 4d		3	6			
Oak for routhes 1/4d, ditto for knee heads etc 3/-		4	4			
Roonds 1/4d, seam 3d, Rudder work 2/6d		4	1			
Seam 3d, a board for a rudder 1/6d		1	9			
Rubbing wood 6/-, sailing toft 2/6d		8	6			
Deal for tulfers 6/-, ditto for skuttalds and wairins		9	4			
Bar wood for tulfers etc		1	3			
27 feet old boards for fiskafields		2	6			
Nails 1/-, Helm 5d, Rae 1/6d		2	11			
6 cabes @ 9d, 3 cans of tar @ 3/-		9	9			
Nails 3d, slates for oars 2/-, scoop 3d		2	6			
Ladle 3d, 1 bag 4/-, Aft band 9d		5				
Tar leather		1	4			
6 oars @ 4/-	1	4				
	4	10	1	4	10	1
Rigging						
41 yards canvas No.7 for sail @ 1/10d	3	15	2			
Line for bolt rope		2	3			
Mast and making		5				

carry over"

Next page is missing

This totals so far	15	16	6			

Chapter 8. Appendix 8

"List of Lands belonging to
each of the Heritors of
Unst, Ao. 1801"

from

Thomas Mouat's "Vade Mecum" notebook f. 118

Thomas Mouat "Vade Mecum" f.118

"List of Lands belonging to each of the Heritors of Unst Ao. 1801".

RANK	MERKS	URES	HERITORS NAMES
1	732	7	Thomas Mouat
2	351		Thomas Edmondston
3	304	2	Lord Dundas
4	293	2	Andrew Scott of Greenwell
5	94	4	Mrs. Scott
6	84		Thomas Leisk
7	61	4	James Ogilvie
8	53	4	William Spence
9	53	2	John Ross
10	40	6	Gilbert Henderson
11	23	4	Captain George Ross
12	21		Gilbert Spence
13	20	2	Hosea Hoseason
14	19	4	William Henderson of Petester
15	13		William Henderson of Gloup
16	12	4	Magnus Gray
17	12		Glebe (Virse)
18	11	2	Matthew Jamieson
19	9	4	John Henderson
20	8	4	Thomas Hay
21	7		James Spence
22	5		James Johnson
22	5		Andrew Bruce of Urie
24	3	4	Andrew Josephson
25	3		Peter Jamieson
26	2	6	Thomas Arthurson
27	2		Laurence Nicolson
27	2		Jean Henderson
27	2		Eliz Henderson
30	1	6	Laurence Bartholomewson
30	1	6	George Nisbet
32	1		William Fordyce
32	1		William Bruce
32	1		James Sinclair
32	1		Kirk of North Yell
32	1		Mrs. G. Irvine
	2260		25 heritors with less than 25 merks

36 Heritors in all

Top 4 1681m 3u = 74.4% of total

of 1825 Rental.

Chapter 8

Appendix 9

Improvements paid for on lands
purchased by Thomas Mouat from
the heirs of Sir John Mitchell
of Westshore, 1789 - 1817
from
Thomas Mouat's Ledger A ff. 64 - 65

Improvements on Lands purchased from the heirs of Sir John Mitchell of Westshore.

Expense of improvements on these lands:

		£	s	d
1789	Extension of LITTLAGARTH by a dyke of 398 fathoms	5	17	1
	Ditto of RAMNAGEO 340 faths.	5	15	2
	Dividing "	-	16	-
	Inclosing the North Garth of WATLY, my share	4	13	-
	Repairing the dyke of GUDDON	-	12	6
1790	New house & byre on an Outset in RAMNAGEO	6	14	8
	Repairing CALDBACK dykes	?		
	New Booth at MUNESS	68	15	6
	New dyke on Ness of Muness	4	2	3
1792	New house in RAMNAGEO to pay rent (paid none)	3	18	7
1793	Repair Cross Dyke twixt GUDON & WATLY	-	16	6
	Extending & inclosing BROUGH of COLVADALE (unfenced)	4	1	8
	New Stone Dyke at Clugon 1792 & 93	8	5	8
	Finishing B. of C. Dyke	7	7	4
1794	Subdividing & improving the N.E. Part of the HORSE PARK at UYEASOUND	5	-	-
1789	Inclosing with Stone Dyke the S.E. part of said park called LOCHFIELD	5	-	-
	Rebuilding GUNNISTER dykes	1	11	10
	Renewing STOURHOUL dyke with stone	4	1	8
	Rebuilding WOODWICK dykes	1	3	4
	Repairing GARDON dykes	-	19	8
	" SNABURGH "	2	6	10
1791	Repairing the remainder of GARDON dykes	-	17	-
	Improving NEW PARKS at UYEASOUND by draining etc.	2	-	-
1793	Repairing CORSBISTER dykes	-	12	-
	New house on GARDIE be North (to pay rent - paid none)	2	17	3
	New Booth at NORWICK begun 1792	35	8	1
	New stone dyke CLUGON	?		
eisk	Dividing HAROLDSWICK	2	-	4
rthurson)				
pence)	" CLIBBERSWICK	3	13	3
Leisk 1801	" BALIASTA	9	15	3
1802	" COLVADALE, FRAMGORD, CALDBACK)			
1803	" GUNNISTER Arable			
1804	" SANDWICK			
	" SKEA			
	" CASTLETOWN of MUNESS			

Hosea Hoseason

Westshore Lands Improvements.

		£	s	d
1803	Dividing NEWGORD	-	6	8
	" QUOY	-	15	-
1805	" GARDIE, UPSWALL, MAILAND	3	-	-
	" MUNESS, SCOLLAY TOWN (1798)	-	11	4
	" RAMNAGEO T. Arthurson, W. Fordyce			
1808	Enclosing Booth Park at MUNESS	3	6	5
	Building a House & renewing Dykes of VIGON	10	8	10
	" a new Dyke at HOULNON & HIMRON to pay rent	1	10	-
	Enlarging VATNIGARTH to pay rent A.Smith	1	6	8
	Enclosing a Pund at SANDWICK Jo Fraser	-	10	8
	House at MUNESS to pay rent A. Symondson	1	2	9
	Outset on Pund of SLETON on S.E. side Wm.Laurenson to pay rent	2	5	8
1811	Dividing SELLAFIRTH per Jo. Hoseason's account	1	15	-
	" GLOUP	-	8	3
	making 2 outsets in BRESSAY T M's Acco't	50	-	-
	Setting out Dyke of GARDY By South to pay rent	2	-	-
	Building a House on CULLIVOE NESS to pay rent (allowed)	70	-	-
1814	Enlarging NORWICK by west & by east in 1815 T M' share	26	-	10
1815	Dividing SOTLAND. M. Winwick	1	8	-
	Building a House & Byre on NEW FARM, BALIASTA.			
	Dividing Outsets at NORWICK.			
	" SWINANESS M. Winwick.			
1816	Dividing WOODWICK			
1817	House on BALIASTA Scattald twixt VOESGARTH & BUNESS for the Heritors at large. Jo. Jameson tenant.			
	House & outset on MUNESS N.W. side. Jo. Clum's tenant. Dyke 186 fthms.			

Chapter 8.

Appendix 10

The population of Unst

1755 - 1821

Data and Source List

The population of Unst parish, Shetland, 1755 - 1821.

Year	Population	Percentage per year intercensal Increase // Decrease		Sources
1755	1368			Webster
		4.059*		
1759	1604			"Vade Mecum"
		5.55		
1760	1515			" "
		0.8	}	
1761	1528		}	" "
		0.7	}	
1762	1539		}	" "
		1.3	} 8	
1763	1559		} year	" "
		0.9	} Mean	
1764	1573		} =	" "
		1.1	} 0.95%	
1765	1590		} p.a.	" "
		0.9	}	
1766	1605		}	" "
		1.1	}	
1767	1623		}	" "
		0.8	}	
1768	1636			" "
		1.4 *		
1774	1776			Low
		0.7 *		
1780	1853			Ingram
		0.6 *		
1792	1988			Barclay
		1.3 *		
1802	2259			Census
		0.1 *		
1811	2288			Census
		1.3 *		
1821	2598			Census

* indicates a calculated mean annual growth rate, assuming constant intercensal rates of population change.

Chapter 8

Appendix 11

The parish records of Unst

1777 - 1820

Abstracted from the original records in Register House, Edinburgh.

UNST - NUMBER OF MARRIAGES

1797		5
1798		15
1799		15
1800		18
1801		10
1802	No data	
1803		
1804		
1805		
1806		
1807		
1808		
1809		
1810		
1811		
1812		14
1813		15
1814		15
1815		13
1816		25
1817		23
1818		23
1819		19

UNST - NUMBER OF BAPTISMS

OLD REGISTER	1777	71
	1778	
	1779	No data
	1780	
	1781	
	1782	
	1783	23
	1784	14
	1785	11
	1786	7
	1787	11
	1788	1
	1789	5
	1790	4
	1791	25
	1792	26
	1793	16
	1794	7
	1795	25
	1796	15
NEW REGISTER	1797	23
	1798	70
	1799	35
	1800	30
	1801	39
	1802	59
	1803	37
	1804	39
	1805	60
	1806	43
	1807	46
	1808	34
	1809	45
	1810	46
	1811	42
	1812	53
	1813	44
	1814	57
	1815	63
	1816	51
	1817	58
	1818	65
	1819	65
	1820	35

Appendix 12

Farm size distributions

Data matrix for "Symvu" plots shown in Graph 51

UNST FARM SIZE DISTRIBUTION DATA

for sample rentals of Thomas Mouat's estate, 1777 - 1814

EXPLANATION OF FORMAT

SIZE CLASSES are shown in columns ▪▪▪▪▪▪▪ down.
There are 24 size classes at one-merk intervals.
Thus:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24
merks of land

NUMBERS OF FARMS recorded in each size class for each year are shown in rows across.
PROPORTION of the total number of farms is shown as a percentage figure immediately below the number in each class.

Thus for one year, say 1785, the distribution of farms in sample rental "X" might be as follows

- 6 - 10- 4
- 30 - 50 - 20

i.e. there are six▪ farms in size class 2 merks, 30% of the sample, and so on...

size classes in units of one merk of land

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24

Rental ~~Two~~ One

1778

							1			4			2											
%							14			57			29											

~~1779~~ 1777

							1			5					1									
%							14			71					14									
~~1780~~ 1778							1			5					1									
%							14			71					14									

~~1781~~ 1779

DATA RELIABLE

DATA UNRELIABLE FOR 1779 – 1787

							3			4					1									
%							38			50					13									

~~1782~~ 1780

							3			4					1									
%							38			50					13									
~~1783~~ 1781							2			2			2	1										
%							29			29			29	14										

~~1784~~ 1782

							2			2			2	1										
%							29			29			29	14										

~~1785~~ 1783

			1			2	1			1			2	1										
%			13			25	13			13			25	13										

~~1786~~ 1784

			1			2				3			1	1										
%			13			25				38			13	13										

~~1787~~ 1785

			1			2				3			1	1										
%			13			25				38			13	13										

~~1788~~ 1786

			1			2				3			1	1										
%			13			25				38			13	13										

~~1789~~ 1787

			1			2				3			1	1										
%			13			25				38			13	13										

Rental ~~Three~~ Two.

~~1777~~ 1778

			3	13	5	3	2	4	3				1										
%			9	38	15	9	6	12	9				3										

~~1778~~ 1779

			3	13	5	3	2	5	2				1										
%			9	38	15	9	6	15	6				3										

~~1779~~ 1780

			3	13	5	2	2	5	1				1										
%			9	41	16	6	6	16	3				3										

~~1780~~ 1781

			3	13	5	2	2	5	2				1										
%			9	39	15	6	6	15	6				3										

~~1781~~ 1782

			3	12	5	2	2	5	2				1										
%			9	38	16	6	6	16	6				3										

~~1782~~ 1783

			3	12	5	2	2	5	2				1										
%			9	38	16	6	6	16	6				3										

~~1783~~ 1784

			3	14	5	2	2	5	2				1										
%			9	41	15	6	6	15	6				3										

~~1784~~ 1785

			4	13	5	2	2	5	2				1										
%			12	38	15	6	6	15	6				3										

1786/over

size classes in units of one merk of land

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
(rental ~~three~~ two)																									
1786																									
	3	14	5	2	2	5	2																		1
%	9	41	15	6	6	15	6																		3
~~1786~~ 1787																									
	3	14	7	2	2	5	2																		1
%	8	39	19	6	6	14	6																		3
~~1787~~ 1788																									
	3	16	6	3	2	5	2																		1
%	8	42	16	8	5	13	5																		3
~~1788~~ 1789																									
	2	14	7	4	2	4	1																		1
%	6	40	20	11	6	11	4																		3
~~1789~~ 1790																									
	2	13	6	3	2	3	1																		
%	7	43	20	10	7	10	3																		

Rental ~~Four~~ Three

1777 ~~1778~~	3	9	12	6	3	8	10				1	2				1
%	5	16	22	11	5	15	18				2	4				2
1778																
	4	12	11	7	5	7	10				1	2				1
%	7	20	18	12	8	12	17				2	3				2
~~1780~~ 1779																
	5	12	16	8	5	8	10	1	1	2						1
%	7	17	23	12	7	12	14	1	1	3						1
~~1781~~ 1780																
	4	11	16	9	4	9	9	1	1	2						1
%	6	16	24	13	6	13	13	1	1	3						1
~~1782~~ 1781																
	3	11	16	10	6	7	11			2						1
%	4	16	24	15	9	10	16			3						1
~~1785~~ 1782																
	4	9	16	12	4	7	10				1	2				1
%	6	14	24	28	6	11	15				2	3				2
~~1784~~ 1783																
	4	11	18	15	2	7	10				1	2				1
%	6	15	25	21	3	10	14				1	3				1
~~1785~~ 1784																
	4	11	21	9	2	5	11	1	3	3						1
%	6	15	30	13	3	7	15	1	4	4						1
~~1786~~ 1785																
	3	13	20	10	5	5	11				2	3				1
%	4	18	27	14	7	7	15				3	4				1
~~1787~~ 1786																
	5	10	20	10	6	6	10				1	4				1
%	7	14	27	14	8	8	14				1	5				1
~~1788~~ 1787																
	5	10	21	9	8	6	11	1	1	4						1
%	6	13	27	12	10	8	14	1	1	5						1
~~1789~~ 1788																
	5	8	20	10	6	5	11				1	4				1
%	7	11	28	14	8	7	15				1	6				1
~~1790~~																
~~1790~~ 1789																
	5	8	19	10	3	9	9				1	4				1
%	7	12	28	14	4	13	13				1	6				1
~~1791~~ 1790																
	5	8	19	9	3	8	10				1	4				1
%	7	12	28	13	4	12	15				1	6				1

size classes in units of one merk of land

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Rental [illegible] Four 1778																								
[illegible]	1	8	5	2	3	3	5	2	4	2			2								1			
%	3	21	13	5	8	8	13	6	11	5			5								3			
[illegible] 1779																								
	1	10	5	4	3	2	5	1	4	2			2								1			
%	3	25	13	10	8	5	13	3	10	5			5								3			
[illegible] 1780																								
	1	10	5	3	4	2	8	1	3	1	1		1								1			
%	2	24	12	7	10	5	20	2	7	2	2		2								2			
[illegible] 1781																								
	1	8	7	3	5	2	9	1	3	1	1										1			
%	2	19	17	7	12	5	21	2	7	2	2										2			
[illegible] 1782																								
	1	12	10	5	4	2	7	1	4	1			1								1			
%	2	24	20	10	8	4	14	2	8	2			2								2			
[illegible] 1783																								
	1	9	8	7	4	2	7	1	4	1			1								1			
%	2	20	17	15	9	4	15	2	9	2			2								2			
[illegible] 1784																								
	1	8	9	4	3	2	6	1	4	2			1								1			
%	2	19	21	10	7	5	14	2	10	5			2								2			
[illegible] 1785																								
	1	10	8	4	3	2	6	1	4	2			1								1			
%	2	23	19	9	7	5	14	2	9	5			2								2			
[illegible] 1786																								
	12[illegible]	4	5	4	2	4	2	4	3				1								1			
%		29	10	12	10	5	10	5	10	7			2								2			
[illegible] 1787																								
	2	7	7	3	3	2	5	2	4	3			1								1			
%	5	18	18	8	8	5	13	5	10	8			3								3			
[illegible] 1788																								
	2	9	5	3	3	2	5	2	4	3			1								1			
%	5	23	13	8	8	5	13	5	10	8			3								3			
[illegible] 1789																								
	2	9	5	3	3	2	5	2	4	3			1								1			
%	5	23	13	8	8	5	13	5	10	8			3								3			
[illegible] 1790																								
	2	8	4	4	2	2	7	2	4	2			1								1			
%	5	21	10	10	5	5	18	5	10	5			3								3			

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Rental [illegible] Five 1790																								
	1	3	2	4	7	2	6	11	6	4	1										1			
%	2	6	4	8	15	4	13	23	13	8	2										2			
1791																								
	2	3	2	4	5	3	6	11	6	4	1										1			
%	4	6	4	8	10	6	13	23	13	8	2										2			
1792																								
	2	2	2	5	6	3	5	13	4	4	1										1			
%	4	4	4	10	13	6	10	27	8	8	2										2			
1793																								
	2	4	1	5	8	4	4	12	4	4	1										1			
%	4	8	2	10	16	8	8	24	8	8	2										2			
1794																								
	2	4	3	4	5	5	4	13	4	4	1										1			
%	4	8	6	8	10	10	8	26	8	8	2										2			
1795																								
[illegible]	2	4	3	3	6	5	4	13	4	4	1										1			
%	4	8	6	6	12	10	8	26	8	8	2										2			
1796																								
	2	4	3	3	6	5	4	14	4	5	1													
%	4	8	6	6	12	10	[illegible]	28	8	10	2													
1797																								
	2	4	4	4	6	4	4	14	4	5	1													
%	4	8	8	8	12	8	8	28	8	10	2													

size classes in units of one merk of land

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
(rental five...)																								
1798																								
		2	4	4	4	6	4	3	15		5	4	1											
%		4	8	8	8	12	8	6	30		10	8	2											
1799																								
		2	5	2	3	7	4	5	15		5	3	1											
%	4	10		4	6	14	8	10	30		10	6	2											
1800																								
		2	4	2	[illegible]		4	4	16		5	3	1											
%		4	8	4	8	12	[illegible]	8	32		10	6	2											
1801																								
		1	2	2	2	6	4	6	17		5	3												
%		2	4	4	4	12	8	12	34		10	6												
1802																								
		1	3	1	2	4	4	6	20		4	3												
%		2	6	2	4	8	8	12	40		8	6												
1803																								
		1	3	1	5	4	3	6	16		6	2			1									
%		2	6	2	10	8	6	12	32		12	4			2									
1804																								
			3	1	3	5	4	6	18		6	2												
%			6	2	6	10	8	12	36		12	4												
1805																								
			3	1	5	5	4	6	17		6	2												
%			6	2	10	10	8	12	34		12	4												
1806																								
			2	[illegible]	3	5	4	6	17		7	2												
%			4	2	6	10	8	12	34		14	4												
1807																								
			2	1	3	5	[illegible]	6	17		7	2												
%			4	2	6	10	8	12	34		14	4												

Rental Six

1791																								
	6	12	14	12	5	10	17	7	5	6			1							1		1		
%	6	12	14	12	5	10	17	7	5	6			1							1		1		
1792																								
	5	11	13	11	8	9	17	8	6	4			1							1		1		
%	5	11	13	11	8	9	17	8	6	4			1							1		1		
1793																								
	5	[illegible]	14	13	11	8	9	16	8	6	4		1							1		1		
%	5	14	13	11	8	9	16	8	6	4			1							1		1		
1794																								
	5	17	10	10	12	9	15	9	6	2			1							1		1		
%	5	17	10	10	12	9	15	9	6	2			1							1		1		
1795																								
	4	15	11	10	10	9	15	9	7	2			1							1		1		
%	4	16	12	11	11	9	16	9	7	2			1							1		1		
1796																								
	4	15	11	10	10	10	15	10	7	2			1		1					1				
%	[illegible]												1		1					1				
	4	15	11	10	10	10	15	10	7	2														
1797																								
	4	16	11	10	10	9	15	10	7	2			1		1					1				
%	4	16	11	10	10	9	15	10	7	2			1		1					1				
1798																								
	4	16	11	11	9	9	15	10	[illegible]	2			1		1					1				
%	4	16	11	11	9	9	15	10	7	2			1		1					1				
[illegible]799																								
	5	16	13	11	7	9	16	10	5	3			1		1					1				
%	5	16	13	11	7	9	16	10	5	3			[illegible]1		1					1				

size classes in units of one merk of land

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Rental Seven																								
1800																								
	4	7	8	5	4	6	6	5	2	2			1											
%	8	14	16	10	8	12	12	10	4	4			2											
1801																								
	4	7	8	5	4	6	6	5	2	2			1											
%	8	14	16	10	8	12	12	10	4	4			2											
Rental Eight																								
1800																								
	1	6	5	6	3	3	11	5	4	2										1				
%	2	13	11	13	6	6	23	11	9	4										2				
1801																								
	1	6	4	8	3	2	10	6	4	2										1				
%	2	13	9	17	6	4	21	13	9	4										2				
1802																								
	1	6	4	6	3	2	11	6	4	2										1				
%	2	13	9	13	7	4	24	13	9	4										2				
1803																								
	1	6	4	6	3	2	11	6	4	2										1				
%	2	13	9	13	7	4	24	13	8	4										2				
1804																								
	1	6	4	6	2	2	13	6	3	2										1				
%	2	13	9	13	4	4	28	13	7	4										2				
1805																								
	1	6	4	6	2	2	13	6	3	2										1				
%	2	13	9	13	4	4	28	13	7	4										2				
1806																								
	1	6	4	6	2	2	13	6	3	2										1				
%	2	13	9	13	4	4	28	13	7	4										2				
1807																								
	1	6	4	6	2	2	13	6	3	2										1				
%	2	13	9	13	4	4	28	13	7	4										2				
Rental Nine																								
1804																								
		6			1	2	1	3	1	3	1		1											
%		32			5	11	5	16	5	16	5		5											
1805																								
		6	2	1	2	1	3	2	3	1														
%		29	10	5	10	5	14	10	14	5														
1806																								
		5	1	1	1	1	4	2	4	1														
%		25	5	5	5	5	20	10	20	5														
1807																								
		5	1	1	1	1	4	1	4	1														
%		26	5	5	5	5	21	5	21	5														
Rental Ten																								
1806																								
				2	3			3	7		1													
%				13	19			19	44		6													
1807																								
			1	1	3			1	7		1				1									
%			7	7	20			7	47		7				7									
1808																								
			1	1	1			3	7		2				1									
%			6	6	6			19	44		13				6									

size classes in units of one mark of land

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Rental Eleven																								
1821																								
	3	9	8	16	12	16	30	40	13	6	3		2								1			
%	2	6	5	10	8	10	19	25	8	4	2		1								1			
Rental Twelve 1808																								
		6	5	5	10	3	20	20	12	6				1				1	1		1			
%		7	5	5	11	3	22	22	13	7				1				1	1		1			
1809																								
	1	5	5	4	10	3	19	20	13	6				1				1	1		1			
%	1	6	6	4	11	3	21	22	14	7				1				1	1		1			
1810																								
	1	6	5	4	10	3	18	18	13	7				1	1			1	1		1			
%	1	7	6	4	11	3	20	20	14	8				1	1			1	1		1			
1811																								
	1	7	5	3	12	3	17	19	13	6		1		1				1			1			
%	1	8	6	3	13	3	19	21	14	7		1		1				1			1			
1812																								
	1	8	6	4	14	3	17	19	12	6		1		1				1			1			
%	1	8	6	4	15	3	18	20	13	6		1		1				1			1			
1813																								
	1	7	5	4	14	3	17	19	10	6		1		1			1	1			1			
%	1	8	5	4	15	3	19	21	11	7		1		1			1	1			1			
1814																								
	1	8	5	4	14	3	17	19	13	4		1		1			1				1			
%	1	9	5	4	15	3	18	21	14	4		1		1			1				1			

End of farm size distribution data matrix

Appendix ~~14~~ 13.

Data Matrix for Unst computer maps

DATA LIST FOR UNST COMPUTER MAPS

48 VARIABLES

130 ROOMS

	LIST OF VARIABLES	DIVISOR	DATE	SOURCES
1	Code number of room	0		
2	Merks of land in room	10	1778	Mouat, "Vade Mecum" ms.
3	Lispunds of butter paid for skat	100	1733	Gifford, ms rental.
4	Cans of oil paid for skat, &c	100	1733	" " "
5	£Scots money paid for skat, &c	100	1733	" " "
6	Merks of land owned in room by Thomas Mouat	100	1797	Mouat, "Vade Mecum", ms.
7	Lispunds of butter paid in rent to Thomas Mouat	100	1797	" " " "
8	£Scots money paid in rent to TM	100	1797	" " " "
9 *	Variable entered in matrix but discarded because data unreliable			
10 *	ditto			
11 *	ditto			
12 *	ditto			
13 *	ditto			
14	Merks of land disponed in each room by William Mouat to TM	10	1775	Mouat, "Vade Mecum" ms.
15	Merks of land let to TM by R.Hunter	10	1777	" " " "
16	Merks of land bought by TM from Mitchell of Westshore's heirs	10	1789	" " " "
17	Merks of land held in tack by TM from various owners	10	1777	" " " "
18	Var.14 as a %age of Var.2	0	1778	
19	%age of each scattald's lands controlled by TM	0	1777	" " " "
20 *	Merks of land, mean number owned by each heritor in each scattald	0	1778	" " " "
21 *	Merks of land, mean number owned by each heritor in each scattald	0	1803	Gardie Mss, 1803 file.
22 *	Merks of land owned by TM in each room or scattald	0	1803	" " " "
23 *	Merks of land owned by TM in each room or scattald	0	1819	" " 1819 "
24	Value 1 indicates a room in which TM controlled more than 50% of lands	0	1777	Mouat, "Vade Mecum" ms.
25	%age of each room's lands owned by TM	0	1819	Gardie Mss, 1819 file.
26	Value 1 indicates a room in which ley lands are recorded for the period 1775-1821, but not in any of the sample years	0	1775 to 1821	Gardie Mss, Produce Rentals & Cess Rental.
27	Value 1 indicates a room in which TM controlled more than 50% of the lands	0	1819	Gardie Mss, 1819 file.

variable		divisor	date	sources
28	Merks of ley land in each room, for all rooms that paid Cess (land tax)	10	1775	Gardie Mss, 1775 Cess Rental.
29	Merks of ley land in each room, for rooms where TM owned or controlled land	10	1780	Gardie Mss, Produce Rental
30	ditto	10	1785	ditto
31	ditto	10	1790	ditto
32	ditto	10	1795	ditto
33	ditto	10	1800	ditto
34	ditto	10	1805	ditto
35	ditto	10	1810	ditto
36	ditto	10	1814	ditto
37	Merks of ley land in each room, for rooms where John Mouat owned land	10	1821	Gardie Mss, 1821 Stated Rental of JM's lands
38	Number of farms in each room in size class 1 (0.1 - 1.9 merks)	0	1775	Gardie Mss, 1775 Cess Rental.
39	ditto size class 2 (2.0 - 5.9 merks)	0	1775	ditto
40	ditto size class 3 (6.0 - 9.9 merks)	0	1775	ditto
41	ditto size class 4 (10.0 - 25.0 merks)	0	1775	ditto
42 *	Page of each xxxxxxxxxxx scattald's lands controlled by TM	0	1790	Mouat, "Vade Mecum" ms.
43 *	ditto	0	1803	Gardie Mss, 1803 file.
44	Number of years for which ley lands are recorded for each room	0	1775 to 1821	as above, Var.28 - 37
45 *	Number of heritors owning lands in each scattald	0	1778	Mouat, "Vade Mecum" ms.
46 *	ditto	0	1803	Gardie Mss, 1803 file.
47	Merks of land owned in each room by Sanderson of Buness	10	1772	" " 1772 file.
48	Merks of land owned in each room by William Mouat (xxxxxxxxxx)	0	1825	Gardie Mss, Valuation Roll

NOTES ON THE DATA MATRIX

* Signifies that, where data is not available for each room but only for the scattald, the scattald value is entered under the major room in each scattald.

DIVISOR

The values in the matrix should be divided by the appropriate figure in the Divisor colum to give the true value. A zero in this column means that the true value is entered in the matrix and should not be divided.

SOURCES

The original data is usually to be found in the file for the year to which the data refers. The "Vade Mecum" ms notebook compiled by Thomas Mouat is stored separately in the Gardie House Muniments Room.

No Record merely signifies that data under any heading is not to be found in the Gardie Mss. It does not mean for certain that the value of any particular variable in any particular room was zero., though in many instances this may be inferred or assumed.

DATA LIST MATRIX FOR UNST COMPUTER MAPS

VAR.	ROOM 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
2	320	320	-	240	227	-	-	-	30	-	480	320
3	-	-	-	467	300	-	-	-	-	-	150	100
4	-	-	-	1300	900	-	-	-	-	-	250	150
5	535	535	-	410	290	-	-	-	33	-	633	440
6	1350	1700	-	-	725	-	-	-	300	-	1850	1600
7	450	566	-	-	240	-	-	-	150	-	640	532
8	1080	2310	-	-	935	-	-	-	660	-	1480	1280
9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	13	17	-	-	66	-	-	-	30	-	97	-
15	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	45	160
16	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	30	-	-	45	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	41	53	-	-	30	-	-	-	100	-	20	-
19	-	47	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-
20	-	9	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-
21	-	16	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	-
22	-	44	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	82	-
23	23	32	-	-	7	-	-	-	3	-	19	16
24	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
25	72	66	-	-	32	-	-	-	100	-	38	50
26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	100	60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	200	-
38	3	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	7	-
39	4	5	-	5	-	-	-	-	1	-	6	-
40	1	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
41	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	-	48	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	64	-
43	-	69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	55	-
44	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
45	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	-
46	-	4	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-
47	-	35	-	3	7	-	-	-	-	-	12	-
48	25	32	-	200	-	-	-	-	-	-	38	16
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

ROOMS

VARIABLES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
2	40	480	160	150	170		120	240	120	210		120
3		150		615			50	100	50	83		50
4		300	100	1000			75	150	75	100		75
5	42	460	190	390			150	300	150	250		150
6	225	4800	350					650	700		50	
7	140	1600	150					216	232		16	
8	200	3720	685					520	560		40	
9												
10												
11												
12												
13												
14	22		35					30				
15		480						15	20			
16												
17												
18	25		22					10	21	9		
19				12								
20				8								
21				8								
22	1		4	7								
23	2	48	6					11	7			
24												
25	56	100	34					29	58			
26												
27	1	1										
28												
29		60										
30												
31												
32		30										
33		30										
34												
35												
36												
37		260										
38			1									
39	1		2	4				1	1	2		
40			1	3				4	3	2		1
41									1	1		1
42				13	1		1	1				
43				14								
44		6										
45				7								
46				7								
47			80	150				65	10	15		
48	3	48										

VARIABLES	ROOMS 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
2	120	380	90	180	16	160	90	182	—	35	40	—
3	58	167	42	83	67	67	42	67	—	—	—	—
4	67	200	50	100	100	100	50	100	—	—	—	—
5	150	526	121	250	200	200	121	200	—	—	20	—
6	300	2587	—	—	850	500	—	1375	—	—	200	—
7	100	862	—	—	284	166	—	458	—	—	66	—
8	240	2070	—	—	680	400	—	1100	—	—	160	—
9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14	30	41	65	45	—	50	60	140	—	—	20	—
15	—	30	—	40	87	—	—	20	—	—	—	—
16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
17	—	—	—	25	15	—	7	22	—	—	—	—
18	25	11	31	—	—	31	39	62	—	43	50	—
19	26	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
20	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
22	56	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
23	3	—	26	—	9	5	—	15	—	—	2	—
24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—
25	25	—	31	—	53	31	—	92	—	—	50	—
26	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
27	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	—
28	—	32	—	70	65	—	22	—	—	—	—	—
29	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
30	—	—	—	—	—	—	67	—	—	—	—	—
31	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
32	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
34	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
35	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
36	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
37	—	—	5	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
38	—	6	2	1	2	—	3	—	—	—	—	—
39	1	6	1	4	1	2	—	3	—	—	—	—
40	1	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	—
41	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
42	42	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
43	42	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
44	—	5	—	3	2	1	3	—	—	—	—	—
45	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
46	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
47	10	20	—	10	—	40	10	10	—	—	—	2
48	3	8	5	10	9	5	7	14	—	3	—	—

VARIABLES.	ROOMS 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48
2	270	120	—	60	162	80	120	180	180	90	400	335
3	113	50	—	—	16	33	200	416	400	233	1000	533
4	167	75	—	—	—	—	600	900	900	450	2000	1200
5	150	150	—	—	105	105	170	280	270	145	705	412
6	825	—	—	400	—	—	—	—	500	700	200	1100
7	275	—	—	132	—	—	—	—	166	232	66	366
8	660	—	—	1130	—	—	—	—	400	560	160	880
9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14	70	—	—	50	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	30
15	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50	—	—	50
16	—	—	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	70	—	50
17	25	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	10	—	132	10
18	18	—	—	43	—	—	12	—	—	—	—	1
19	—	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
20	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21	—	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
22	—	22	—	4	—	—	—	—	5	7	2	—
23	8	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	5	7	2	12
24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
25	30	—	—	100	—	—	—	—	28	78	5	16
26	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—
27	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
28	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15
29	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50
30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50
31	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	25	—	—	—
32	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50	—	—	—
33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50	—	—	—
34	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
35	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
36	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
37	—	—	—	40	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
38	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	5
39	4	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	—	2	3
40	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	2
41	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	2	—
42	—	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
43	—	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
44	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	10	—	4	13
45	—	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
46	—	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
47	—	—	—	—	—	80	—	—	—	—	30	100
48	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	18	9	—	30

	ROOMS											
VARIABLES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
2	225	180	180	260	~~320~~	320	—	60	120	—	180	92
3	375	308	300	404	—	450	—	—	—	—	408	200
4	950	600	600	941	—	1100	—	—	—	—	1100	550
5	290	280	280	347	—	270	—	—	—	—	195	110
6	1300	1200	900	—	—	2925	—	—	—	—	—	—
7	432	400	300	—	—	1356	—	—	—	—	—	—
8	1040	960	720	—	—	5650	—	—	—	—	—	—
9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14	30	25	—	—	—	292	—	—	—	—	—	—
15	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
16	100	45	85	—	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—
17	—	—	10	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	—
18	13	19	—	—	—	91	—	—	—	—	—	—
19	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
20	—	24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21	—	28	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
22	—	65	—	—	—	31	—	—	—	—	—	—
23	13	7	11	—	—	31	—	—	—	—	—	—
24	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
25	58	40	62	—	—	98	—	—	—	—	—	—
26	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
27	1	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
28	70	20	—	—	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—
29	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
30	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
31	—	55	85	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
32	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
34	—	70	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
35	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
36	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
37	65	65	—	—	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—
38	1	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
39	5	4	5	3	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	1
40	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
41	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—
42	—	31	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
43	—	29	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
44	10	14	7	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	—
45	—	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
46	—	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
47	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	170	—
48	20	—	9	—	—	32	—	—	—	—	—	—

	ROOMS											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
VARIABLES 1	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72
2	180	120	90	240	240	—	150	30	80	90	280	135
3	487	267	216	487	400	—	300	—	133	133	467	225
4	1450	750	550	1450	1100	—	500	—	300	300	1350	450
5	240	100	87	240	330	—	200	—	80	80	400	142
6	—	225	—	200	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7	—	75	—	66	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8	—	180	—	80	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14	25	22	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
15	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
17	—	—	—	55	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
18	8	19	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—
20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	—	—	—
21	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	27	—	—	—
22	—	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
23	—	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
25	—	19	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
26	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
27	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
28	—	—	25	130	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
29	—	—	—	55	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
31	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
32	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
34	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
35	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
36	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
37	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
38	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
39	—	2	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	4	1
40	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	1	1	—	1
41	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—
42	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	—	—	—
43	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	—	—	—
44	—	—	1	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—
46	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	—
47	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	130	—
48	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

VARIABLES	ROOMS 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84
2	180	360	300	400	300	200	40	400	—	120	80	120
3	300	600	433	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50
4	800	1400	1000	400	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	200
5	240	480	500	800	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	150
6	—	650	1650	1375	650	1000	—	150	—	—	200	650
7	—	216	266	458	216	266	—	66	—	—	66	216
8	—	520	620	1100	520	640	—	160	—	—	160	730
9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14	—	10	50	37	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	55
15	—	—	25	—	—	80	—	—	—	—	—	—
16	—	55	85	50	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
17	—	—	5	50	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10
18	—	3	8	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	25	46
19	—	—	—	8	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
20	—	—	—	8	21	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21	—	—	—	17	32	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
22	—	6	16	14	10	10	4	4	—	—	6	11
23	—	6	16	14	10	10	4	4	—	—	6	11
24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
25	—	18	53	34	35	50	100	10	—	—	75	92
26	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
27	—	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	1
28	—	10	12	—	—	—	—	40	—	—	—	—
29	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	—	—	—	—
30	—	10	—	87	—	—	—	15	—	—	—	—
31	—	60	22	87	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
32	—	55	—	50	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
33	—	55	—	70	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
34	—	—	—	137	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
35	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
36	—	—	—	110	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
37	—	—	55	—	—	—	—	15	—	—	—	—
38	—	2	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
39	2	3	3	—	1	—	1	4	—	—	3	1
40	—	—	—	2	1	2	—	3	—	1	—	1
41	—	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
42	—	—	—	46	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
43	—	—	—	49	37	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
44	—	19	6	26	—	—	—	18	—	—	2	—
45	—	—	—	8	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
46	—	—	—	4	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
47	—	20	10	—	40	—	40	25	—	—	40	20
48	—	6	21	14	11	10	4	4	—	—	6	11

		ROOMS											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
VARIABLES	1	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96
	2	45	120	40	600	30	60	—	400	600	30	100	30
	3	50	50	—	1000	26	50	—	600	1233	—	166	—
	4	—	200	—	3000	—	—	—	1800	3450	—	500	—
	5	96	150	—	1200	32	47	—	740	900	—	50	—
	6	400	850	400	3100	200	300	—	1375	500	—	800	300
	7	133	284	133	1833	66	100	—	458	166	—	266	—
	8	452	905	1020	2870	160	240	—	1100	400	—	1090	747
	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17	10	—	5	—
	15	—	—	—	70	—	30	—	32	—	—	—	—
	16	40	—	40	230	20	—	—	87	40	—	15	—
	17	—	—	—	10	10	—	—	112	90	—	35	—
	18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	2	—	65	—
	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	—
	20	—	—	—	10	—	—	—	12	—	—	—	—
	21	—	—	—	24	—	—	—	16	—	—	—	—
	22	4	9	4	32	2	3	—	15	45	—	8	3
	23	4	9	4	32	2	3	—	18	46	—	8	—
	24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
	25	100	71	100	53	67	50	—	46	77	—	80	—
	26	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
	27	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	—	1	—	1	—
	28	—	—	—	70	—	—	—	40	105	—	—	—
	29	—	—	—	70	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	—
	31	—	—	40	110	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	—
	32	—	—	—	60	—	—	—	80	45	—	—	—
	33	—	—	—	150	—	—	—	80	35	—	—	—
	34	—	—	—	80	—	—	—	132	—	—	—	—
	35	—	—	—	70	—	—	—	70	—	—	—	—
	36	—	—	—	70	—	—	—	70	—	—	—	—
	37	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	70	80	—	—	—
	38	—	2	—	1	1	—	—	2	2	1	—	1
	39	1	—	—	2	1	1	—	3	5	1	1	—
	40	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	2	4	—	—	—
	41	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	42	—	—	—	57	—	—	—	24	—	—	—	—
	43	—	—	—	56	—	—	—	60	—	—	—	—
	44	1	—	3	27	—	—	—	20	12	—	1	—
	45	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	10	—	—	—	—
	46	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	—
	47	—	—	—	10	—	—	—	15	400	—	—	—
	48	4	8	4	32	3	3	—	20	40	—	10	3

		ROOMS											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
VARIABLES	1	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108
	2	240	60	320	420	160	510	180	90	—	—	240	120
	3	83	25	66	200	83	—	91	41	—	—	200	—
	4	—	—	200	400	—	—	—	—	—	—	400	—
	5	340	60	335	540	220	—	226	116	—	—	550	120
	6	450	—	—	—	800	—	900	—	—	—	1600	700
	7	150	—	—	—	266	—	300	—	—	—	500	233
	8	360	—	—	—	640	—	775	—	—	—	1217	560
	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	14	45	—	20	—	80	—	90	—	—	—	20	70
	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	130	10
	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	35
	18	14	—	12	—	50	—	50	—	—	—	8	50
	19	—	—	—	3	—	18	—	—	—	—	8	—
	20	—	—	—	17	—	23	—	—	—	—	4	—
	21	—	—	—	26	—	31	—	—	—	—	6	—
	22	5	3	—	—	8	20	13	—	—	—	19	7
	23	5	3	—	—	8	20	13	—	—	—	19	8
	24	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
	25	19	50	—	—	50	39	72	—	—	—	79	66
	26	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
	27	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	1
	28	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	29	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	30	45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	45	50
	31	45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	32	45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	34	45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	60
	35	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	36	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	37	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	60	—
	38	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
	39	2	1	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	2	1
	40	—	—	—	—	1	2	1	—	—	—	2	1
	41	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	42	—	—	—	4	—	18	—	—	—	—	62	—
	43	—	—	—	7	—	44	—	—	—	—	79	—
	44	19	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	5	6
	45	—	—	—	6	—	4	—	—	—	—	6	—
	46	—	—	—	4	—	3	—	—	—	—	4	—
	47	—	30	—	—	—	200	40	—	—	—	40	—
	48	5	3	—	—	8	20	13	—	—	—	20	12

		ROOMS											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
VARIABLES	1	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120
	2	360	240	60	180	180	60	160	160	240	180	—	—
	3	—	—	—	300	300	50	200	212	200	225	—	—
	4	—	—	—	900	900	150	600	667	600	700	—	—
	5	490	320	—	210	210	43	200	183	183	240	—	—
	6	1200	2400	100	1620	1800	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	7	400	800	33	550	600	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	8	660	6420	80	1320	1440	—	—	—	—	—	—	420
	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	14	120	240	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	16	—	—	—	160	180	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	100	160	—	180	—	—
	18	22	71	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	19	29	71	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	7	—	—
	20	7	24	—	—	10	—	—	—	—	20	—	—
	21	10	24	—	—	42	—	—	—	—	26	—	—
	22	18	24	1	—	36	6	—	—	18	—	—	—
	23	18	24	1	12	24	6	—	—	19	—	—	—
	24	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	25	50	100	100	—	100	100	—	—	80	—	—	—
	26	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	27	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	—
	28	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	29	—	—	50	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	30	—	—	10	—	—	—	100	—	—	—	—	—
	31	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	32	—	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	34	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	35	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	36	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	37	—	—	—	90	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	38	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	39	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	2	—	1	—	—
	40	5	—	—	-HE	4	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
	41	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
	42	33	100	—	—	94	—	—	—	—	7	—	—
	43	52	83	—	—	100	—	—	—	—	38	—	—
	44	—	—	17	5	1	2	2	—	3	—	—	—
	45	7	1	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	4	—	—
	46	5	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	3	—	—
	47	60	—	—	15	—	—	—	150	161	—	—	—
	48	18	24	1	18	18	6	—	—	19	—	—	—

VARIABLES.	ROOMS 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	* MEAN VALUES FOR ROOMS WITH DATA 11	* MEAN VALUES FOR ALL 130 ROOMS 12
1	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130		
2	60	240	120	90	180	840	400	60	840	132	197	176
3	50	400	150	116	233	1200	525	100	133	—	254	169
4	150	1200	450	350	700	—	1575	225	250	—	667	390
5	43	360	150	87	225	955	470	—	675	145	283	208
6	600	1800	700	450	—	8400	4000	600	—	—	1127	586
7	200	600	233	150	—	3210	1333	200	—	—	401	206
8	630	600	2020	600	—	12710	3600	980	—	—	1224	646
9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
14	60	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	53	18
15	—	180	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	67	13
16	—	—	60	—	—	840	400	60	—	—	113	23
17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	45	9
18	60	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	29	11
19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
20	—	9	—	—	5	130	—	—	—	—		
21	—	36	—	—	7	130	—	—	—	—		
22	6	24	12	9	—	84	40	6	—	13		
23	6	24	12	9	—	84	40	6	—	13	13	7
24	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
25	100	100	100	100	—	100	100	100	—	100	66	35
26	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
27	1	1	1	1	—	1	1	1	—	1		
28	—	—	—	—	—	27	—	—	—	—	54	8
29	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17	2
30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	44	4
31	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	54	4
32	—	—	—	—	—	—	70	—	—	—	54	5
33	—	—	—	—	—	—	70	—	—	—	67	4
34	—	—	—	30	—	—	210	—	—	—	14	7
35	—	—	—	—	—	—	140	—	—	—	93	2
36	—	—	—	—	—	70	70	—	—	—	78	3
37	—	—	—	90	—	—	140	—	—	—	85	12
38	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
39	1	1	—	—	—	3	1	—	—	—		
40	—	—	—	1	—	9	3	1	—	1		
41	—	1	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—		
42	—	69	—	—	4	100	—	—	—	—		
43	—	100	—	—	33	100	—	—	—	—		
44	—	—	1	4	—	2	15	—	—	—		
45	—	4	—	—	5	1	—	—	—	—		
46	—	1	—	—	4	1	—	—	—	—		
47	—	—	20	15	—	—	—	—	—	132		
48	6	18	12	9	—	84	40	6	—	13.	END OF DATA MATRIX	

* Means calculated only for variables where relevant.

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